

From Flesh and Bone to Bronze and Stone:



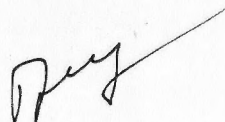
Celebrating and
Commemorating
the Life of Queen
Victoria in the
British World
1897-1930.

Philip James Sheldrick

January 2013

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of The Australian National University

**I certify that this thesis is my own work
and contains no material published or written by another person,
except where due reference is made in the text.**

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'P. Sheldrick', with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Philip James Sheldrick

January 2013

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the generosity and patience of my Supervisor Paul Pickering and my wife Anne Sheldrick in making the writing of this thesis possible.

Many thanks to the staff of the following institutions who were of considerable help in finding some very obscure resources:

British Library at Kings Cross & Colindale
Corporation of London Record Office
Cambridge University Library
Hove Public Library
Local History Section of Leeds Central Library
Lambeth Palace Library
National Art Library, London
NSW State Library, Sydney
Queensland State Library, Brisbane
Royal Archive, Windsor Castle
Southport Library, Lancashire
The National Archive, Kew
Tyne and Wear Archives Service, Newcastle

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support of the Humanities Research Centre at the Australian National University.

Abstract

Queen Victoria had a special place in the minds of people all over the world, at the turn of the twentieth century. She had charisma, at home and abroad. She was a celebrity above all others and became in the last years of her life both an immensely popular figure and an almost untouchable icon. Strangely, she gained this lofty status through her association two very different and it would seem conflicting ideas, imperialism and domesticity.

How did this this elevation of status translate into a proliferation of monuments across the world? Why is it that if you walk through the cities of the United Kingdom, Australia, India, Canada, New Zealand, or any part of what used to be the British world that you will usually find at least one, and sometimes more, statues of Queen Victoria?

This thesis investigates just how Queen Victoria turned from flesh and bone to bronze and stone in Britain and across the British Empire from 1897 to 1930. Before the creation of her many monuments, however, it was necessary to create the charismatic figure of Queen Victoria herself. This thesis argues that two events in particular are the key to this transformation. The first, the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of 1897 transformed her in the eyes of the public into the representative figure of an entire age. The second, her death and funeral in early 1901 had such a public impact that it triggered the numerous and widespread commemoration efforts launched across the world in the years that followed, right up to 1930.

So far, no work published has looked in detail at the historical significance of the many memorials to Queen Victoria in their deeper context of British and British imperial identity. This thesis aims to do that and fill a large gap in the work done so far on the imagery of Queen Victoria while also breaking new ground in considering just how her iconic status came into existence.

Contents

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Acknowledgements | iii |
| Abstract | iv |
| Contents | v |
| List of Illustrations | vi |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Part One: 'The important thing is not what they think of me, but what I think of them.' Queen Victoria | |
| 1. Not Just a Soldier's Daughter | 9 |
| 2. All the World's a Stage | 43 |
| 3. A Never-to-be-Forgotten Day | 72 |
| 4. Every Man Such a Splendid Specimen | 103 |
| Part Two: 'No one ever told me that grief felt so like fear.' C.S. Lewis | |
| 5. The Queen is Slowly Sinking | 139 |
| 6. An Extraordinary Hurly Burly of Confusion | 166 |
| 7. With Deep Sympathy and Affection | 197 |
| 8. Mother Farewell! | 228 |
| Part Three: 'Our dead are never dead to us, until we have forgotten them.' George Eliot | |
| 9. Preposterously Overdone | 260 |
| 10. Keeping Minutes and Losing Hours | 286 |
| 11. Nobody Ever Built a Statue to a Committee | 311 |
| 12. Size is Not Grandeur, and Territory Does Not Make a Nation | 335 |
| Conclusion | 370 |
| Archives | 376 |
| Newspapers & Periodicals | 380 |
| Bibliography | 387 |

List of Illustrations

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Figure 1. 'Queen Victoria,' a bronze statue in Queen's Gardens, Brisbane, unveiled 1906. Author's own photograph..... | Cover |
| Figure 2. 'Victoria Queen & Empress,' a commemorative Plate from 1897, in the Author's personal collection..... | 8 |
| Figure 3. 'Royal mourning group,' 1862 by William Bambridge, albumen print, March 1862, National Portrait Gallery, London..... | 11 |
| Figure 4. 'The Royal Family on the terrace of Osborne House' by Leonida Caldesi albumen print, 1857, National Portrait Gallery, London..... | 16 |
| Figure 5. 'Princess Beatrice of Battenberg & Queen Victoria' by Unknown artist oil on canvas, late 1860s or early 1870s, National Portrait Gallery, London, 5828..... | 17 |
| Figure 6. 'Queen Victoria's First Visit to her Wounded Soldiers' by Jerry Barrett, oil on canvas, 1856, National Portrait Gallery, London, 6203..... | 21 |
| Figure 7. 'The Secret of England's Greatness' by Thomas Jones Barker oil on canvas, circa 1863, National Portrait Gallery, London, 4969..... | 44 |
| Figure 8. 'Reception of the Queen and the Prince of Wales on Tuesday,' <i>Penny Illustrated Paper</i> , 28 February 1872..... | 55 |
| Figure 9. '1897 Queen Diamond Jubilee Parade,' <i>Illustrated London News</i> , 24 June 1897..... | 74 |
| Figure 10. 'Street View with Diamond Jubilee Decorations, St James Street, St James', Westminster, Greater London', Photographers: York and Son, CC97/01168, 1897, National Archive, London..... | 94 |
| Figure 11. 'Street View looking East with Diamond Jubilee Decorations and stand, Strand, Westminster, Greater London,' CC97/01166, 1897, National Archive, London..... | 101 |
| Figure 12. 'Colonial Troops in England for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee,' <i>Illustrated London News</i> , June 1897..... | 109 |
| Figure 13. 'Colonial Troops Who Took Part in the Diamond Jubilee Procession,' Part 1, <i>Graphic</i> , 17 July 1897..... | 110 |
| Figure 14. 'Colonial Troops including the New South Wales Mounted Rifles', <i>Graphic</i> , 26 June 1897..... | 111 |
| Figure 15. 'Lord Mayor Diamond Jubilee Ball at the Guildhall,' <i>Graphic</i> , June 1897..... | 113 |
| Figure 16. 'In Memoriam Queen Victoria,' a commemorative Plate from 1901, in the Author's personal collection..... | 138 |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 17. 'The Return of Lord Roberts. A Royal Welcome on the Alberta off Cowes.' <i>Graphic</i> , 12 January, 1901..... | 144 |
| Figure 18. 'The receipt of the news in Soho & Officers of the Royal Yacht leaving Osborne.' <i>Graphic</i> , 2 February 1901..... | 163 |
| Figure 19. 'The Queen's Death. The Arrival of Newspapers on a Battleship.' <i>Graphic</i> , 2 February 1901..... | 164 |
| Figure 20. 'The Lying in State Osborne House.' <i>Graphic Supplement</i> , 6 February 1901..... | 173 |
| Figure 21. 'Queen Victoria's Funeral Cortege - Osborne.' <i>L'Illustration</i> , 9 February 1901..... | 175 |
| Figure 22. 'Sailors Pulling the Gun-carriage.' <i>Sphere</i> , 9 February 1901. Royal Archives, Windsor Castle..... | 177 |
| Figure 23. 'The Last Resting Place at Frogmore.' <i>Sphere</i> , 2 February 1901, p.115..... | 189 |
| Figure 24. 'Queen Victoria Mourning Card.' 1901, Staffordshire Heritage & Arts Service..... | 193 |
| Figure 25. 'Memorial service for Queen Victoria, 2 February 1901,' F29512 1/2, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna..... | 202 |
| Figure 26. 'A ceremony at the statue of Queen Victoria.' Geelong, Victoria, 1901. There are wreaths on the statue and Suttons Proprietary Limited is in the background. From the collection of Mrs E. Bray, The Biggest Family Album of Australia, Museum Victoria..... | 224 |
| Figure 27. 'Queen Victoria and Margaret, Crown Princess of Sweden, Alexander Bassano half-plate glass negative, April 1882, UK National Portrait Gallery..... | 232 |
| Figure 28. 'Queen Victoria' A marble statue that faces the Grand Vista of Kensington Gardens shows the Queen in 1837, aged 18, in her coronation robes, Princess Louise, 1893. Author's own photograph..... | 239 |
| Figure 29. 'Victoria Memorial,' Figure of Victoria, Queen's Gardens, Buckingham Palace, London, dedicated 1911. Author's own photograph..... | 259 |
| Figure 30. 'Queen Victoria Memorial, Hove,' unveiled 9 February 1901 Grand Avenue, Hove, Sussex. Photograph David Lee with permission..... | 260 |
| Figure 31. 'Empire,' a relief at the base of the 'Queen Victoria Memorial, Hove,' unveiled 9 February 1901 Grand Avenue, Hove, Sussex. Photograph David Lee with permission..... | 261 |
| Figure 32. 'Queen Victoria,' Cubban Park, Bangalore. Photograph David Lee with permission..... | 265 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Figure 33 . 'Queen Victoria,' Southport. Photograph Ed O'Keeffe with permission..... | 288 |
| Figure 34. 'Queen Victoria,' Manchester, Piccadilly Gardens, Manchester. Photograph David Lee with permission..... | 299 |
| Figure 35. 'Figure of a mother,' Statue of Queen Victoria, Endcliffe Park, Sheffield. Photograph David Lee with permission..... | 301 |
| Figure 36. 'Queen Victoria Memorial' Melbourne, Victoria, front view, granite and marble, commissioned by public subscription and positioned at the highest point of the gardens, unveiled 24 May 1907. Author's own photograph..... | 313 |
| Figure 37. 'Queen Victoria,' Blackburn, Lancashire, 1901. Photograph David Lee with permission..... | 314 |
| Figure 38. 'Queen Victoria' Penang, Malaysia, unveiled 1930. Photograph Annie Kwok with permission..... | 333 |
| Figure 39. 'Victoria Memorial and Victoria Memorial Hall,' dedicated to the Empress of India, Calcutta (now Kolkata), West Bengal, dedicated 1921. Photograph David Lee with permission..... | 342 |
| Figure 40. 'Victoria Memorial,' Context One, Queen's Gardens, Buckingham Palace, London, dedicated 1911. Author's own photograph..... | 344 |
| Figure 41. 'Victoria Memorial,' Figure of Victoria One, Queen's Gardens, Buckingham Palace, London, dedicated 1911. Author's own photograph..... | 360 |
| Figure 42. 'Victoria Memorial,' Figure of Motherhood, Queen's Gardens, Buckingham Palace, London, dedicated 1911. Author's own photograph..... | 362 |
| Figure 43. 'Victoria Memorial,' Figure of Justice, Queen's Gardens, Buckingham Palace, London, dedicated 1911. Author's own photograph..... | 364 |

Introduction

Why is it that if you walk through the cities of the United Kingdom, Australia, India, Canada, New Zealand, the West Indies or, indeed most corners of what used to be the British world, you will usually find at least one and sometimes more statues of Queen Victoria? If you also browse the antique shops of these places it is not long before you come across a plate, a cup and saucer or a postcard with Victoria's image, celebrating her Diamond Jubilee in 1897 or memorialising her death in 1901. At a time when the remnants of the empire on which the sun never set are celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of another monarch the level of enthusiasm outside of England is far more ephemeral. Like most British Monarchs since Victoria, Elizabeth II is widely admired and respected as a force for 'good,' but there is little evidence of the same level of adulation that Victoria received in her day.¹ Elizabeth II's Jubilees have not been celebrated with anything like the same enthusiasm as her great-great-grandmother's. This time, the department stores and souvenir shops have again offered their share of royal memorabilia-cum-kitsch (at least for consumers in England), but for most of her 'subjects' the pedestal is not nearly as high as it was for Victoria in 1897. There is no sense that Elizabeth is the mother of her people.

In the last years of her life, Queen Victoria became a celebrity like no other, both an immensely popular figure and an icon. Strangely, she became simultaneously an icon for two very different and it would seem conflicting ideas, imperialism and domesticity. Although she never travelled far from the British Isles, she was a familiar figure to millions

¹ P.A. Pickering, 'Confronting the Good Monarch: Searching for a Democratic Case for the Republic,' in B.T. Jones & M. McKenna, *Australian Republicanism*, Black In, Melbourne, 2013.

of people around the world.² Moreover, people throughout Britain and the British Empire felt affection for her as a woman whom they imagined to be motherly, domestic and compassionate. Her face, her name and her initials were everywhere. When she died, many felt a great sense of personal loss at the departure of such a beloved and constant presence. Neither Victoria's celebrity nor her iconic status can be traced to a single source or group. The image of the Queen was, instead, the product of the interaction between many forces. Moreover, she did not carry one symbolic meaning but many. The Queen that the public imagined was constructed and manipulated by local and national concerns, commercial and official activities, imperial and colonial interests, consumer and imperialist culture, ideas about gender and class, discourses of nationalism and imperialism and the importance of public memory. The end product of which was a statue building frenzy around her image from 1897 to 1930.

At every location where the imperial sun shone, countless official and unofficial images of the Queen appeared during her reign. In the years immediately after her death, instead of decreasing, they multiplied. By 1914 a hundred and fifty statues of Victoria were standing in public places around Great Britain and the empire.³ No matter how far one travelled across the British world an image of Victoria would probably be waiting at the other end. The Queen's features were not just a trivial familiar, they came to represent much more: British values, British law, British standards of behaviour, a perceived lack of corruption and membership of a club that was seen as at one and the same time exclusive and permeable. The image of Queen Victoria became what modern marketing experts would now call the visual brand of Britain and the British Empire.

² Victoria made a number of trips to continental Europe during her life time, but the furthest she ever travelled abroad was the south of France. In the earlier years, she travelled to Germany to visit relatives and to Prussia to see her eldest daughter Vicki. From 1895 until her death she made annual visits, for her health, to the French Riviera. There is a statue of her in Nice, near the Excelsior Hotel where she regularly stayed, which was erected in 1912. In 1939 another monument was erected to her in the Place Victoria at Menton. During the Second World War, Italian troops occupying Menton threw this monument into the sea. It was recovered after the war and returned to its place in 1960. They are both still standing.

³ S. Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1983, p. 201.

This thesis, then, investigates just how Queen Victoria turned into public art, a visual brand, and from flesh and bone to bronze and stone, between 1897 and 1930. It is usual to look at such monuments from an art history perspective alone. To measure their artistic merit and debate their purpose as art alone. However, the sheer number of statues to Victoria gives us a chance to look differently at such works of public commemoration, and uniquely at the process as well as a product. Each work was an enormous undertaking, from the initial idea to the final unveiling. From the outset, before anything else, there had to be sufficient belief that Victoria was special enough to be commemorated. This should not be underestimated in its own importance and only after the idea came the action. Nor should the corporate nature of the memorial process. A committee was formed, a site selected and then funds gathered. Not necessarily in that order, but as will be demonstrated in the second half of this thesis, the three components were always present.

This thesis limits itself solely to the numerous free standing statues of Victoria because any study of her full visual representation in paintings, prints, photographs, busts and architectural features would be beyond the scope of any PhD thesis. Even in dealing with only the major statues of Victoria, I have had to be selective, as a complete study of every one would also fill a number of volumes. I have limited my research to the statues that best illustrate the process of memorialising Queen Victoria and best reveal the ideas that underpinned it. Nearly all of them were corporate projects and as a consequence I have been able to make a close study of the processes involved through the paperwork generated. I was able to consult many committee minutes and reports, newspaper appeals for donations, opening ceremony programs, newspaper reports of unveiling ceremonies, the design specifications issued and the inscriptions that were finally engraved on the finished monuments. These accumulated into a significant archival body of material for interpretation. In many cases the physical monuments themselves also remain and most are still at or near their original locations.

Before the creation of these monuments, however, came the creation of the charismatic figure of Queen Victoria. The first part of this thesis looks at how the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 1897 transformed Victoria, in the eyes of the general public, into the figure of the age. The second part shows how her death and funeral, just a few short years later at the start of 1901, had such a public impact that it triggered the numerous and widespread commemoration efforts launched across the world and lasting right up to 1930. An analysis of this process makes up the third and final part of my work, culminating with an examination of the two most famous Victoria memorials, The Victoria Memorial begun by Lord Curzon in Calcutta and the Imperial Memorial in London. Though literally a world away from each other, both were ambitious and expensive schemes involving a combination of architecture and sculpture and both were designed to change the very dynamics of the cities in which they stood. As such, they underscore the continued importance of monuments in the public sphere during the Fin de Siècle and, in turn, their importance as a subject of historical inquiry.

By looking at the effect of two key events, the Diamond Jubilee and the Queen's death in 1901 and the subsequent memorial frenzy in Britain and disparate imperial locales, it can be seen how different groups participated in the construction, dissemination and preservation of Victoria's image and memory. The myth of Good Queen Victoria was not the product of a single group, especially not some imperial propaganda machine. The power of her image grew and was magnified in the later years of her reign because a range of groups projected onto her a number of different and complex meanings.

Within the constraints of space I have concentrated on what I consider to be the key events in Victoria's move from being just another royal celebrity to a charismatic figure and then finally the icon of an age. To study this public transformation more than 190 different newspaper and periodical titles from the period 1852 to 2005, from across the world, have

been consulted for evidence of formal and informal public reaction to Victoria, her Diamond Jubilee and her passing.⁴ The many contemporary newspaper accounts, along with elegies, church attendance figures and actual film footage were, for instance, invaluable in establishing the unprecedented reaction to the Queen's death in 1901. It can be seen in this public reaction just how important she had become to the self-image of men and women across Britain and the empire. While on the official side, I also found very valuable the extensive records and minutes of the various planning committees for both the Diamond Jubilee and Victoria's funeral held in a range of archives and collections.⁵ The historian in search of evidence of detailed proactive planning and seamless presentation built on age old precedent will not find it there. Instead the archival record tells a story of confusion, petty arguments and reaction in the planning of both the Diamond Jubilee celebration and the Queen's funeral. If anything, it provides further evidence for what Eric Hobsbawm has termed 'The Invention of Tradition'.⁶ In the end, however, this in no way hampered the public's positive impressions. The official and the commercial cultures in conjunction amplified the meaning and significance of both events.

The final section of this thesis deals with the period after Victoria's death, when local, national and colonial committees formed to build monument after monument to their dead Queen. These memorials were necessary to help people carry on after the loss of someone perceived to be so great. Victoria was a Queen and Empress who had been imagined as the mother of the empire itself and now needed to be memorialised and preserved forever in bronze and stone. My research took me to view a great number of these monuments across the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Asia to get a first hand impression of the physical structures and their differing contexts. While in these various

⁴ The British Library's newspaper collection was invaluable in this process, as were numerous local libraries in Britain, Australia, Hong Kong and Singapore.

⁵ These include: the UK National Archive, the Royal Collection at Windsor and the Anglican Church's library and archive at Lambeth Palace.

⁶ E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983.

locales I was also able to consult local library and history collections and to gather information on the process by which each came into being in differing settings. Fund raising records, council minutes, committee reports and again local newspaper coverage all helped to build a picture of what was unique and what was common in Victoria's memorialisation in differing locales. An invaluable starting point in this process was Elizabeth Darby's 1983 PhD Thesis 'Statues of Queen Victoria & Prince Albert: A Study in Commemorative and Portrait Statuary 1837-1924.'⁷ It is the best of a substantial body of work that was done in the 1980s and early 1990s on representations of Queen Victoria from a visual arts perspective.

One issue was how to distinguish a monument from a memorial. The former is more closely associated with large scale civic works that celebrate a triumphalist history, while the latter speaks to commemorations that are interwoven with death and loss. Since both types mark some form of resolution, and don't speak exclusively of death, life, triumph, or loss, but proffer a message that combines all these elements overlaid with the element of time, I use both terms interchangeably in this thesis. Because I am also interested in how communities, and by extension nations and empires, perceive the monuments that they construct, the last chapter deals exclusively with the two largest-scale civic works devoted to the memory of the Queen.

Much valuable academic work in the last decade has also looked at aspects of Victoria's life and imagery from the perspective of feminist theory. But, I found that little had been done on the historical significance of Victoria's many physical memorials and the reasons behind their proliferation. Even Mary Ann Steggle's and Richard Barnes' excellent work on India and the public sculpture of the Raj is, like Darby's thesis, a survey work of many public

⁷ E. Darby, *Statues of Queen Victoria & Prince Albert: A Study in Commemorative and Portrait Statuary 1837-1924*, PhD Thesis, University of London, 1983.

statues that only touches lightly on some statues of Queen Victoria.⁸ There is no work published that looks in detail at the historical significance of the many memorials across the world to Queen Victoria in the deeper context of later British and British Empire identity. This thesis aims to fill that gap and break new ground by also considering just how her iconic status came into existence. It is hoped that by better understanding the preeminent place that Victoria came to occupy among modern British monarchs that we can better see the fault lines in the edifice of the British Empire that were developing even as she was laid to rest.

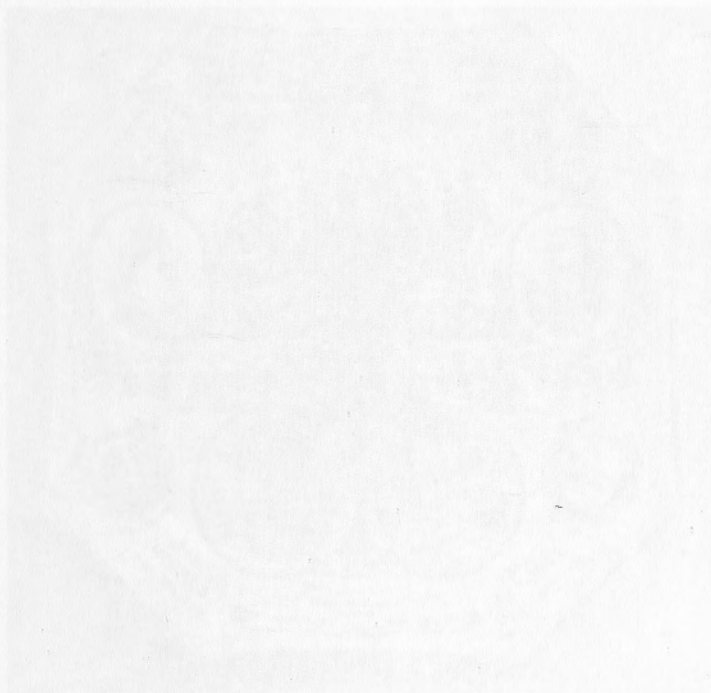


Figure 2: Victoria Queen of England, a portrait sculpture from 1847, in the Ashmolean Museum collection.

⁸ M.A. Steggle, M.A. & R. Barnes, *British Sculpture in India: New Views and Old Memories*, Frontier Publishing, Norfolk, 2011.

Part One:

‘The important thing is not what they think of me,
but what I think of them.’ Queen Victoria

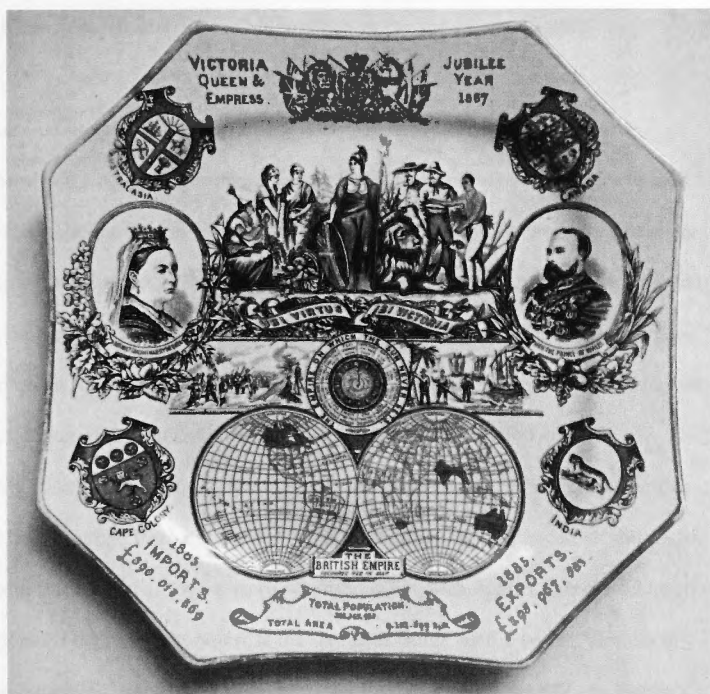


Figure 2. ‘Victoria Queen & Empress,’ a commemorative plate from 1897, in the Author’s personal collection.

1. Not 'Just' a Soldier's Daughter

Queen Victoria had charisma and was the celebrity of her time. The many images of her still easily accessible today, however, present us with anything but a figure that we would consider charismatic or attractive. What we are presented with, in numerous statues still standing in public places across the world, is a rather plain and portly old lady who could be anyone's grandmother. How could such a figure possibly have gained such an exalted position in the public imagination?

There is occasionally to be found another image of Queen Victoria, a statue perhaps of a young and passably attractive figure in a public square somewhere in what used to be the British Empire. In the city of Montreal, for example, there are surprisingly two statues of a youthful Victoria. The first, in front of the Strathcona Music Building, depicting a young seated monarch dating to 1895. This is a bronze version of an earlier marble statue in front of Kensington Palace that was sculpted by one of Victoria's own daughters, Princess Louise. The second statue in Montreal, also depicts a young but this time standing Queen, is located in Victoria Square, where it had been unveiled in 1872. This situation with two such statues, in an area not noted for its loyalty to the British crown, is then on a number of levels exceptional. There are others across the world. A statue of the young Victoria in George Square, Glasgow, commemorates her visit to the city in 1849. As Britain's first female equestrian statue it was the subject of mixed opinion. The *Glasgow Courier* thought it was 'excellent,' while the *Edinburgh Evening Post* thought it belonged in 'the salon.'¹ Yet another statue of the young Victoria can be found in Liverpool, originally displayed at the Great Exhibition in London it was moved and re-erected there twenty years later. Both of these statues were constructed well

¹ *Glasgow Courier*, 11 September 1854, p.7, *Edinburgh Evening Post* 13 September 1854, p.2.

before her Golden Jubilee in 1887. If there are such exceptions to the rule as these, they are a tiny minority in a sea of conformist typology. They are by far outnumbered across the world by statues of a much less attractive and often very old Queen Victoria.

The charisma that Victoria acquired in the later years of her reign and that led to the construction of so many statues of her, far and wide, did not simply appear out of thin air. Two major factors were at play in the beginning and the charismatic way she was imagined was the result of a process that ran for many years. However, two spectacular public events late in her reign built on the strength of a long royal tradition to provide well placed focal points for a developing otherworldliness. Queen Victoria may not have manifested the inherent charisma we now most readily associate with Max Weber's ideas on the subject but her image relied on many of the same symbolic strategies that did suggest what Weber termed a 'personal experience of heavenly grace'.²

The first element in Victoria's acquisition of charisma was probably a 'heavenly grace' that emanated from her dead husband, Prince Albert, rather than from herself. In her unique circumstance Victoria was not 'a God-willed master,' in the Weber mould, but her Albert was, and for over twenty-five years she had been devoted to him. No consort of a sovereign was so widely honoured by memorial figures as was Prince Albert after his death. While only three statues of him were erected during his lifetime, over thirty were erected as memorials after his death. All were constructed with the approval of Queen Victoria who after his sudden passing in December 1861 became something of a superintendent of the cult of the Prince Consort, a cult that even exceeded what we would now consider extreme

² S. N. Eisenstadt, (ed.) *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968, p.86.

nineteenth-century mourning practices. In December 1862, in response to a royal command, a mausoleum at Frogmore was consecrated and a series of private services to mark the anniversary of Albert's death were annually conducted there for the rest of Victoria's life, an excessively long period. In fact, Sir Henry Ponsonby, Victoria's Private Secretary, later recalled that 'Dean Wellesley used to tell her that the Frogmore services might be considered prayers for the dead unless he arranged it carefully, which he did.' As a permanent mourner Victoria was not a 'charismatic hero' but a 'charismatic-hero-worshipper' instead.



Figure 3. 'Royal mourning group,' 1862 by William Bambridge, albumen print, March 1862, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Victoria's mourning rituals for her dead husband did not stop at internalised admiration and annual memorial services. It was public knowledge that she also filled her external, material world with the tokens of her transcendent love. First

she appointed herself interior decorator of his tomb. Then, as we have seen, she encouraged and even commissioned others to erect cenotaphs, shrines, and commemoratives of all sorts. The members of her household had to keep up his rooms and layout his possessions as if he were still alive. For many years a bust of Albert, placed strategically in family portraits, meant that he remained present and a strongly symbolic figure in her continuing royal life. (Figure 3.) Victoria made it clear to everyone that she subscribed to the view that imagined the immaterial world of heaven in the most material terms possible. She surrounded herself with people who shared the same views. A few years after Albert's death her attending chaplain, Norman McLeod, even contributed a paper called 'Social Life in Heaven' to a collection entitled *The Recognition of Friends in Heaven*.³

At the same time, Victoria cut herself almost completely off from public life and devoted herself to her mourning. There were loud critics of her withdrawal, of course, but quietly in the making during these years was a charismatic Queen. Counterintuitively, at the end of this period she seems to have actually gained public approval because of seclusion, emerging from it as the centre piece of contrastingly spectacular public displays: firstly in a tentative fashion during the Golden Jubilee of 1887 and then on the grandest of scales at the Diamond Jubilee of 1897. However, even in 1872, when Victoria made one of her rare public appearances, Walter Bagehot could see her growing popularity when he observed that: 'a middle-aged lady is about to drive, with a few little-known attendants, through part of London, to return thanks for the recovery of her eldest son from fever, and the drive has assumed the proportions of a national event'.⁴

³ N. McLeod, 'Social Life in Heaven, The Recognition of Friends in Heaven,' London, 1866. In E. Darby & N. Smith, *Cult of the Prince Consort*, Yale University Press, Newhaven, 1983, Ch. 4.

⁴ W. Bagehot, 'The Thanksgiving,' the *Economist*, 24 February 1872.

Bagehot had captured the first moments when a very old idea took on a modern and new significance and personified itself in the image of a frail little old lady. Since 1862 he had been carrying on a crusade against republicans who had argued that the monarchy was not worth the annual price of four hundred thousand pounds from the Exchequer.⁵ Against these claims that the reigning monarch was nothing more than a very spendthrift private citizen, Bagehot summoned up the people who:

regard the sovereign as something separate, and as it were, awful; as the most national thing in the nation; as a person not only entirely above themselves, but possessed of powers and rights which they do not give; as an ultimate authority which never changes, never passes away, and never can be overcome.⁶

This quote also touches on the second factor in Victoria's rise to super celebrity, her 'being' Bagehot did not see Queen Victoria as just having an acquired charisma, to him she also had an inherent charisma that connected her both with the nation at large and with another realm: an old fiction harking back to the medieval and beyond, of a monarch's two bodies, according to which Queen Victoria had a material body, limited in scope and subject to decay, and an immaterial body, limitless, changeless, and ethereal.⁷

This fiction of the Queen's two bodies can best be described as an early way of distinguishing between inherent and acquired charisma. The Queen's material body

⁵ W. Bagehot, 'Count Your Enemies and Economise Your Expenditure,' *The Works and Life of Walter Bagehot*, vol. 4 Longmans, London, 1915.

⁶ W. Bagehot, 'The Thanksgiving,' 1872. For a summary of Bagehot's ideas see also: *Graphic*, 7 April 1877, p. 18

⁷ For an excellent discussion of this topic see: E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1957.

consisted of the significance she had acquired as a living member of the material world; her supernatural body consisted of the significance she had inherited 'by Divine Right' and so possessed inherently by virtue of simply being Queen. Charles Dilke articulated a wide consensus when he wrote that:

actual power must reside in a committee of great officers elected by the representatives of the people...whilst formal power must rest with a great personage.⁸

Dilke is an excellent example of just how attitudes to the monarchy changed during Victoria's reign. Just three years before this the *Pall Mall Gazette* was reporting on its front page: 'SIR CHARLES DILKE has given the QUEEN notice to quit. It need not be said that this eminent young man has not taken this momentous step without full consideration. He has calculated the cost of the monarchy in pounds and found it to be beyond keeping.'⁹ When it came down to it, the balance leaned toward Victoria's material body, toward her acquired charisma rather than her inherited or inherent charisma.

Victoria's Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 succeeded not only in reaffirming the old fictional part of monarchy but also in taking it in a new and modern direction. The Jubilees used traditional intimations of the supernatural quality of royal power to confer a vast and often uncontrollable significance on the British material world. Victoria's two bodies were put to work in a variety of ways as icons, insignia, and even souvenirs. What began with the limited charisma of a single personality ended with the limitless effect of countless official and manufactured illustrations and objects all bearing Victoria's image and associated symbols and icons. So prolific

⁸ 'Sir Charles Dilke on the Civil List,' *Economist*, 10 January 1874, p. 26.

⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 November 1871, p. 1.

were they that there are still vast numbers of them to be seen or acquired even today.

Many of these illustrations and objects depicted a regal, enthroned Queen often sitting in full royal regalia at the centre of her troops. Such images bore little resemblance to the real Victoria who had a marked aversion to the physical trappings of royalty. Yet artists and sculptors regularly turned to this fictional 'regal' Victoria to convey a sense of imperial power and glory, and to make the Queen visually spectacular. The 1855 Portrait of Queen Victoria standing in front of a red velvet curtain in full regal robes and wearing a crown, located in the Tasmanian Legislative Council Chamber, copied in oils by John Prescott Knight from an 1847 original by Franz Xavier Winterhalter, is a perfect example of this regal style and how it was copied and exported throughout the empire.¹⁰ This regal Queen, however, was only one half of the image of Victoria celebrated in the visual arts. The other half: domestic, feminine, and virtuous, was just as important to official spectacles, to the advertising industry and the media at the time.¹¹

This image of the Queen as 'virtuous woman' was quite common by the time of the Diamond Jubilee. It had been made familiar and heavily nuanced by many different newspapers and magazines, especially towards the end of her reign. (Figure 4.) It is an image of such importance that will be regularly revisited as this thesis progresses, and dealt with in great detail in Chapter 8. By 1897, the everyday details of Victoria's life were so widely known that the common use of dual portraits, showing the young Queen in 1837 and the mature monarch in 1897, needed no further explanation. The public could easily fill in the gap between them with their own memories and the great deal that they had read or heard about her

¹⁰ <http://www.parliament.tas.gov.au/php/VicPic.htm>

¹¹ A. Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1996, pp. 66-71.

life. The latter, repeated in souvenir publications and Jubilee poetry, told of a young Queen who found domestic happiness with her Prince and



Figure 4. 'The Royal Family on the terrace of Osborne House' by Leonida Caldesi albumen print, 1857, National Portrait Gallery, London.

children, and was sadly widowed at the age of forty. Popular writers such as Arnold Bennett and Marie Corelli contended that her sorrow at Albert's death increased her capacity for sympathy to an almost superhuman level, enabling her to become a compassionate mother to all her subjects.¹² A theme often repeated in speeches and sermons after her death in 1901, and the major message of one Mayor's speech on Jubilee Day in Windsor NSW. Both the sermons and the Mayor's speech are worthy of deeper analysis and this will be done in a later section of this thesis.¹³ The message was consistent, Victoria's heart was one which listened 'to the world's distress', while her voice spoke:

¹² A. Federico, *The Idol of Suburbia: Marie Corelli and Late-Victorian Literary Culture*, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 2000, pp. 63-65.

¹³ A. Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1996, Ch. 8.

as never monarch spoke,
With power to soothe the wound, to lift the yoke,
To still the sting.¹⁴



Figure 5. 'Princess Beatrice of Battenberg & Queen Victoria' by Unknown artist oil on canvas, late 1860s or early 1870s, National Portrait Gallery, London, 5828.

The Queen as virtuous woman was also a very common theme for media artists. She was depicted in newspaper and magazine illustrations at home, the doting but firm mother. (Figure 5.) She was shown with her people, exhibiting humility and with the common touch as she visited the humblest of her subjects in their modest homes. Commonly side by side with magazine illustrations of the Queen and her troops were drawings showing a motherly Queen in a domestic role. In one drawing, from a series in *Black and White*, titled '*Simplicity*' - Victoria is pictured

¹⁴ C. Monkhouse, 'To Our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria,' *Illustrated London News*, 26 June 1897, p. 874.

seated on a chair holding a smiling infant grandchild in her lap, while a toddler sits at her feet. Surrounding her are three of her daughters and daughters-in-law, looking on, as they all share the domestic pleasure of the children. The Queen, as usual, is not smiling but simply looks content.¹⁵ Another in the same series, 'Sympathy,' again uses a domestic setting, although the plain furnishings indicate that it is not a royal home. One woman lies on a bed, while another kneels at her side crying. It is not clear if the woman in bed is ill or has just died, but in either case Victoria has arrived to provide consolation. Dressed in black with a shawl, as if she has just come indoors, and carrying a handkerchief, she stands behind the crying woman laying her hand on her shoulder.¹⁶ Such images of Victoria as a domestic, virtuous, and humble woman were common and an integral component of her public image, contrasting with her grandeur, while complimenting and humanising her appearances in regal spectacles.

Newspapers repeatedly reported the Queen, in such scenes, in terms of a 'contrasting simplicity' to the pomp and circumstance around her.¹⁷ Her power, it was decided, came from her virtue; she was, in the words of one writer of the period, 'the embodiment of moral goodness.'¹⁸ (Figure 6.) This imagining of Victoria added to the feeling of public participation in royal ceremonial by converting her to a heroine not just a Queen. Melodrama was a mainstay of Victorian commercial entertainment and it was something that people in the street understood then, more than we probably do today. Melodrama held a place in the

¹⁵ *Black and White*, 23 June 1897, p. 789. For similar illustrations see: *West Middlesex Advertiser and Family Journal*, 17 October 1873, p. 3 & *Graphic*, 1 July 1897, p. 16.

¹⁶ *Black and White*, 23 June 1897, p. 791. See also: *Illustrated London News*, 25 June 1897, p. 709.

¹⁷ Two journalists even made a speciality of it, Henry Hamilton Fyfe in the *The Times* and Philip Gibbs in the *Daily Mail*. See also: D.C. Rossbottom, 'The Melodrama of Meaning', *Diacritics*, Volume 8, No. 3, 1978.

¹⁸ L.A. Law, *Victoria the Great and Good: An Essay on the Diamond Jubilee*, Elliot Stock, London, 1897, pp. 5-6.

Victorian psyche that is now hard for us to really understand.¹⁹ While the Jubilees and the royal funeral lacked the villains and class conflict of stage melodrama, they shared the emphasis on virtue.²⁰ The Diamond Jubilee celebration's great lesson was, in the words of the *Lady*, about 'living life in righteousness.'²¹



Figure 6. 'Queen Victoria's First Visit to her Wounded Soldiers' by Jerry Barrett oil on canvas, 1856, National Portrait Gallery, London, 6203.

The melodrama of royal appearances and especially of the Diamond Jubilee would not have existed without this special relationship, one of fame and familiarity, that had now been negotiated between Victoria and her subjects. Britain and the empire were vastly different places by the end of Victoria's reign than they had been at its beginning. The charismatic Victoria was in equal measure both a cause and a result of this process of change. Heroes and celebrities were now far more common, thanks to theatre advertising, social columns and the need to fill space in countless

¹⁹ It might be argued that television soap operas did carry on this melodramatic tradition, but I do not feel that the comparison holds up in the light of the changing and far more jaded nature of contemporary audiences. For an excellent analysis of this gap in understanding, see: J. R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992, p. 63.

²⁰ P. Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995, pp. 25-6.

²¹ *Lady*, 20 June 1897, p. 378.

new magazines. Frederick Burnaby, almost totally forgotten, is the perfect example of the new Victorian celebrity. He became so famous through the press that Queen Victoria supposedly fainted when she heard he was dead and people wept in the street. His obituary in *The Times* detailed how he had survived frostbite, typhus, an exploding air balloon, and poisoning with arsenic; how he explored Uzbekistan, where it was so cold that his frozen beard snapped off; how he led the household cavalry, stood for parliament, spoke seven languages, crossed the channel by air, wrote a string of bestsellers, commanded the Turkish army, and founded *Vanity Fair* magazine. And all this before his death at only 42, in 1885.²²

Queen Victoria was on another level of celebrity again, what we would nowadays call a megastar. She was a new type of celebrity, constructed officially and unofficially by public servants on the one hand, advertisers and the media on the other. As perhaps the most famous living figure of her time, her image came to circulate worldwide in illustrations, photographs, even on film. She was everywhere, on the labels of products as well as in official portraits, on every stamp, on every coin and in an ever growing empire-wide collection of statuary and collectibles.

Publishers, and businesses of all types during the nineteenth century used the images of the famous to encourage people to buy.²³ Images of the famous were copied and commodified. As was Queen Victoria, yet somehow she was different. Her royalty gave her a stature and dignity just a little removed from, and a little above, the marketplace. The Queen's face was always recognizable, but its position

²² 'Victorian Celebrity,' *Prospect Magazine*, 17 January 2009, pp. 63-64.

²³ E. Berenson, 'Charisma and the Making of Imperial Heroes in Britain and France, 1880-1914,' E. Berenson & E. Giloi, *Constructing Charisma: Celebrity, Fame, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Berghahan Books, New York, 2010.

above the everyday was reinforced by its constant juxtaposition with royal symbols like coronets and robes.²⁴

The Queen's celebrity was particularly enhanced by the Diamond Jubilee, when her image was reproduced on hundreds of products and in thousands of advertisements. Paradoxically, at the same time, the commercial exploitation of the Diamond Jubilee also depended on her celebrity. In the image of the good Queen, the producers of the public show and commercial frenzy of 1897 found a symbol of apparent significance that could sustain the hyperbole and excess of such an enormous spectacle. Her strange quality of being both known and beloved, but also distant and exalted, resonated throughout the spectacle. In the procession itself, one journalist conjectured on the private and public meanings she held for spectators: 'The streets could well have flooded with tears as emotion got the better of many of us...We remembered a life lived long and well, sharing our pain and our triumphs...Not a one of us who would not die for that most superior woman.'²⁵

In reality, the Diamond Jubilee had little intrinsic or long term significance; even in the most hyperbolic coverage journalists remained vague when discussing the celebration's meaning. *The Times*, for example, often referred to the 'true meaning' but without ever going on to give readers any further explanation it.²⁶ Yet in the marketplace of images, the contrasting elements - the excessive celebration of abundance, the imperial flourishes, contrasting with a simply clothed Queen - combined to create what the *Telegraph* called 'a noble and a hopeful spectacle.' This

²⁴ For a detailed analysis of how her treatment was indicative of a growing sophistication in the Victorian advertising industry see: D. & G. Hindley, *Advertising in Victorian England: 1850-1914*, Wayland, London, 1972, p. 72.

²⁵ 'Marguerite on the Jubilee,' *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 26 June 1897, p. 420.

²⁶ *The Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 9. See also the *Daily Mail* coverage of June 1897. Both publications emphasised the importance of the event in column space and the idea was further reinforced by numerous advertisements, that referenced it, placed on the same pages.

sentiment was shared by all the other major daily newspapers. The only dissenting voice, as usual, came from *Reynolds's News* when they asked: 'Was today's parade really representative of the greatness of the country? This impudent claim is made in the face of the fact that the procession included no person connected with Labour and nothing whatever representative of our industrial greatness.'²⁷

As has already been emphasised, much of the celebrity of Queen Victoria emanated from the way that she was at the same time perceived to be just like ordinary people, while really nothing like them at all. Some of this was to do with Victorian ideas about family. And, that it was the institution of the family that provided the central structure of identification which allowed the person in the street to feel Victoria was like them. The idea of 'family' became increasingly important to the middle class during Victoria's reign and like hers theirs too were usually large. In 1870 an average family had five or six children. Father, mother and children all had their place and it was indicative of Victorian thinking when the home was commonly referred to as a man's castle.²⁸ Like everybody else - Victoria got married, had children (many of them), loved her husband (deeply), lost him prematurely (as did many other women at the time), and worried about it all. All this was common public knowledge, thanks to newspapers and magazines. While on the other hand, she was quite obviously different from them: she was rich and famous - she was royal; and the ruler of the nation by divine right. The point about Victoria, as with today's royal celebrities, is that, unlike most other people who are rich and famous, she had not really done anything to be different, she just was. There were more than enough action heroes like Frederick Burnaby providing newspaper copy, many of them aristocrats. However, that was an acceptable male

²⁷ *Telegraph*, 19 June 1897, p.8. & *Reynolds's News*, 27 June 1897, p. 2.

²⁸ For a discussion on the rise of the 'family' see: C.C. Zimmerman, 'The Nineteenth Century and the Rise of the Atomistic Family,' *The Intercollegiate Review*, Wilmington, February, 2008.

domain, Victoria's appropriate domain was seen as female and domestic.²⁹ In this sense, she was not special, she was not particularly clever, or particularly successful at anything, she did not have to be wildly attractive or strikingly original. No other person so consistently in the public's eye, appeared as middle class as the monarch. Nellie Melba and Oscar Wilde were famous at the same time as Victoria but because of their talents and actions. They had made choices while Queen Victoria had no so existential a claim to fame, she just 'was' famous.³⁰ Elizabeth Longford points out in her biography of Victoria just how unlikely a celebrity she was: 'They called her the Grandmother of Europe... Yet she did not quite grow to 5 feet tall nor did she outgrow her childhood's sloping chin.' Longford goes on to point out how she was the source of haemophilia in most important royal houses of Europe and how her very conception was a controversial act. 'Any saintliness that Victorians sometimes saw in their Queen's rotund, aged image, was never traced from her father the Duke of Kent.'³¹

If Victoria had not been the monarch, there would have been nothing special about her at all. Seen from this angle, it becomes clear that the 'simplicity' of Victoria was not an ideological trick dreamed up by the late-Victorian media to indoctrinate the public. Insofar as her personal attributes were concerned it was quite patently and observably true. Her outward appearance at the centre of enormous public ceremonies was of someone exactly no better and no worse than the person in the street looking on.

²⁹ L. James, *Aristocrats: Power, Grace and Decadence - Britain's Great Ruling Classes from 1066 to the Present*, Abacus, London, 2010.

³⁰ For an interesting argument on the need for the 'ordinary' in constructions of fame, see : C. James, *Fame in the Twentieth Century*, BBC Books, London, 1993.

³¹ E. Longford, *Victoria R.I.*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1964, pp. 3-10.

Because Victoria's only difference was that she was the monarch, she had a quite unique role in social representation: she was them, she was the ordinary held up for everyone to see. In this sense we can see Queen Victoria as a representation before even moving on to the question of how she was represented in imagery. The combination of similar-but-different, or associated-but-different, is the basic means of any representation.³² The image, or sign, must be similar to, or associated with, whatever it represents, without actually being it, or it could not stand for it. This idea of 'standing in' for something else provides a useful way of linking the representation that we understand as a process of meaning, with the kind of representation that we connect with politicians who stand for us in Parliament. An illustration from the *Graphic* in 1875 entitled 'Queen Victoria's Keys,' is an excellent example of this process. The full page illustration simply shows a night scene at the Tower of London with Guards in bear skin hats going through the formal process of locking up. The title, the scene and the simple dialogue: 'God save the Queen,' carry a heavy load of subtle meaning.³³ This double sense of representation had implications in every area of social life. But its relevance in the case of Queen Victoria riding in her open coach as the centre piece of public spectacle is that despite her position at the very top of the social pyramid or rather because of it, she stood for or represented out there in the middle of the parade the broadest part of it: the popular, the masses of people who were not 'special' in any way.

³² *Graphic*, 2 June 1877, p. 24, has a full page family portrait with Victoria in the centre of a typically middle class Victorian family gathering, Victoria's presence indicates to the viewer that it is royal family portrait, but if she was not there it would be the same as a million other family portraits. For a discussion of theories of representation see: F. De Saussure & R. Harris, *Course in General Linguistics*, Open Court, Chicago, 1983, Ch. 1. See also: P. Fuery, & N. Mansfield, *Cultural Studies and Critical Theory*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2005; C. Prendergast, 'Circulating Representations: New Historicism and the Poetics of Culture,' *Substance: The Review of Theory and Literary Criticism*, No. 28, issue 1, 1999, pp. 90–105.

³³ *Graphic*, 30 January 1875, p. 12. For a detailed discussion of the semiotic theory behind such an illustration see: R. S. Corrington, *An Introduction to C. S. Peirce*, Rowman & Littlefield, 1993, Boston, pp. 5–7, M. Danesi, *The Quest for Meaning: A Guide to Semiotic Theory and Practice*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2007; and for a contemporary discussion of the repercussions of such communications: D. Menchik, & X. Tian, 'Putting Social Context into Text: The Semiotics of Email Interaction,' *The American Journal of Sociology*, 114:2 pp. 332–370, 2008.

People in the street had not elected Victoria; they could not step into her shoes nor could they ever be her. She represented them by sheer analogy as an iconic sign.³⁴ In a June 1897 issue of *Black and White* an entire page is taken up by a series of six illustrations of Victoria's life, a mixture of crowded and uncrowded scenes that all have one thing in common. Each illustration has a gap, an area of separation between Victoria and the crowd or Victoria and whoever she is talking to or interacting with. It is a visual representation that you can get so close but no closer to the monarch. This way in which she paralleled the middle class at a distance was at the heart of her popular image. She was a much loved figure who far from being exclusively identified with the elite upper class of which she might have been seen as the very upmost was also strongly identified in the public mind with the middle class. To see her through eyes of republicans as merely standing for privilege and wealth is completely to misunderstand her place in people's hearts and minds at the time.³⁵ Victoria was deeply linked through the means of social representation with the general public and in a way that it is hard for us to fathom today.

Uniquely, while representing 'the people,' by analogy on the one hand, Victoria also embodied the very royal principle of 'noblesse oblige' and royal duty to 'the people' on the other. In June 1897, for example, the *Illustrated London News* devoted a page of illustrations to Victoria's good works with pictures of her visiting the poor, the ill and wounded military. While *The Lady* devoted half a page to a story about her dropping in unannounced to visit the sick bed of an old man on the Sandringham

³⁴ *Black and White*, 23 June 1897, p. 791. See also: E. C. Moore (Ed.), *Charles S. Peirce: The Essential Writings*, Prometheus Books, New York, 1998, pp. 27-29.

³⁵ *Reynolds's* during the late nineteenth century sold 350,000 copies a week with anti-monarchism as the cornerstone of its Editorial policy. However, Antony Taylor has found it difficult to establish a coherent and unified republican trail of opposition. He has found long standing anti-monarchism prevalent in Britain, but he contends that the opposition was not to monarchy in general but to particular monarchs, their behaviour, their ridiculous cost, their excessive wealth and privilege. See: A. Taylor, *Down with the Crown: British Anti-monarchism and Debates About Royalty Since 1790*, Reaktion Books, London, 1999.

Estate.³⁶ Each adding to the overall impression of people of all ranks that somehow Queen Victoria 'cared.' Nobody was publicly told what she thought about political issues and only in a very few extreme circumstances did she ever express her 'concern.' It is as if the responsibility for caring as part of what we would now call a 'caring' society was placed onto the Queen instead of the state, and a person who in reality could do little about anything.

This illusion of the ordinary and extraordinary manifested in the one person of the firm but caring Queen came about through a combination of the informal and the formal. There were informal depictions of her in intimate, casual and private moments on the one hand and as the formal symbolic centre of the spectacle of state occasions, associated with glamour, wealth and national tradition on the other. In the less formal imagery of Victoria she was just like other people, in the more formal she was very different. To see either one of these alone as the crucial representation of Victoria would be a mistake; it was the combination of the two that made the total more powerful.

The formal, official aspects of her rule were captured in the very formal photographic portraits specially produced to mark the later milestones of her reign, other photographs of her official events, and also in the hundreds of commemorative medallions and certificates. Street posters produced especially for the Diamond Jubilee, many of them depicting Victoria or symbols of her reign, were also a new and modern form of pageantry in themselves.³⁷ There was also a coinage of heraldic household articles whose charm lay in their combination of the important and the everyday. Conversely, the informal imagery of Victoria that

³⁶ *Illustrated London News*, 25 June 1887, p. 705, & *The Lady*, 24 June 1897, p. 925 are good examples of this process in action. For a valuable discussion about the notion of loyalty to the crown see: P. Pickering, 'The Hearts of the Millions': Chartism and Popular Monarchism in the 1840s', *History*, Volume 88, Issue 290, April 2003, pp. 227–248.

³⁷ J. Plunkett, *Queen Victoria - First Media Monarch*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, p. 194.

appeared at the same time in newspapers and magazines displayed a Queen in otherwise completely unremarkable situations, sitting at a spinning wheel, holding a grandchild, being the grieving widow. There must have been as much interest in collecting pictures of Victoria looking non-royal as there was of collecting formal portraits, if the number of such illustrations in the newspapers and magazines of the time is any indicator. As early as 1852, the *Illustrated London News* featured a full page illustration of 'The Queen and Her Children at Windsor Great Park' that was obviously designed to be cut out and framed, or placed in a scrap book. The Royal Children are all featured as they walk with their mother in an idealised domestic scene of a family out for a day in the park: Princess Louisa, Princess Alice, Prince of Wales in Highland dress, complete with dirk in sock, Princess Helena, and young Prince Arthur being led on a pony by his mother.³⁸ Yet it was the fact that she was the monarch that made these many pictures of a domestic Victoria so interesting to the general public.

In one sense, the public may have felt slightly luckier than Victoria, since her actions were available for comment and criticism in a way that no ordinary person's were. There was a quest by the press to find embarrassing stories about her during the middle years of her reign. Such media attention was considered totally unacceptable by her in later years.³⁹ In any case it all came to nothing and if anything, simply added to the developing image of Victoria as more representative of the norm, of normal Victorian values in family life and leisure, rather than of someone upper class and distant. It was precisely this that made her image what it was. The young Princess Victoria may have provided some fairy-tale glamour in her ball gowns and wedding dress but as the years went on her now middle class appearance, far from the excesses of the aristocratic, seemed to endear her to the

³⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 15 December 1852, p. 249. See also: *Graphic*, 10 March 1888, p. 34.

³⁹ D. Thompson, *Queen Victoria: A Woman on the Throne*. London, Virago, 1990, pp. 106-107.

general public who found it comforting rather than confronting. Her image when at home was perceived to be a cosy, motherly, fireside one. It was this middle-of-the-road cultural image that became crucial to the developing function of monarchy on show, and so successful was it that it has been cultivated by British monarchs ever since.⁴⁰

Even at the very beginning it was Victoria herself who offered the public this image. Her marriage to Albert and her family life were the epitome of middle class Victorian domestic culture. She was photographed in her wedding dress and during her reign photography continued to play a formative role in the representation of that middle class culture. Photographs of her family in their living room round the fireplace with a bust of Albert - gone but not forgotten, or dressed for a Sunday picnic at Osborne, were commonplace. Everything about such photos evoked, not aristocratic values, but values of the traditional middle class Victorian family. *Sketch, Black and White, Sphere* and the *Illustrated London News*, editions of January & February 1901, all carried collections of her old family portraits beginning with Victoria, Albert and their young children and ending with very large family portraits with grandchildren and great grandchildren gathered around her. The pictures, and there are a number of them, show a family that looks no different to thousands of other comfortably wealthy British families and readily observable in thousands of other family photographs from the time. The mother and later grandmother sitting, the children neatly arranged and all in everyday dress and with everyday backgrounds. Together they form a family story rather than a royal story.⁴¹

⁴⁰ W.M. Kuhn, *Democratic Royalism: The Transformation of the British Monarchy, 1861-1914*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 1996, p. 1-14, describes how crucial media management became to the British royal family and their evolving image and how the success of the Jubilees and the impact of Victoria's funeral made it obvious to all how important such big events were in connecting with the public.

⁴¹ *Sketch, Black and White, Sphere* and *Illustrated London News*, editions of January & February 1901. See also: J.J. Plunkett, *Queen Victoria - First Media Monarch*, 2003, pp. 145-156, for an analysis of the impact that these pictures had on the public.

There are two very important points about this phenomenon. The first is that Victoria came strangely to represent nationhood through these home and hearth values as much as through the usual nationalistic values of politics and war. Much was made in the popular press, and by the Queen herself, of the fact that she was simply 'a soldier's daughter'.⁴² It is yet another of the contradictions in Victoria's image that although she occupied the very highest martial place in the Empire, as Head of the Armed Forces, her role was still perceived as maternal and egalitarian, as a grandmother to them all. The subtext was that she also had a relationship with her children and grandchildren like that of any grandmother her age. Almost invariably, this picture of a normal family was subtly conveyed. It was through this image of family values that the values of 'nation' as family were extended and enshrined.

The second point concerns class. Queen Victoria was aristocratic, she engaged in upper-class activities, and she lived on vast estates. Yet, as is already evident, in many ways she developed a middle class image. She seems to have combined an aura of feudal aristocracy with the culture of the British middle class, incorporating the most conservative elements of both. Moreover, the fact that her position itself belonged to a much earlier time kept the Victorian public looking backwards at their history as much as forwards. It was the middle class whose lives were the subject of such rapid social, economic and technological change, to whom the opportunity to look backwards really appealed, and for whom the royal Victoria was an especially important focus, possibly even an anchor.

Queen Victoria combined for the first time in the person of the monarch, British middle class culture with only a reminiscence of old English feudal aristocracy. The

⁴² It was a point made in particular by Lytton Strachey in his personal study, psychological profile of Victoria. He saw her as a complex woman of 'peculiar sincerity.' This in turn made her impressive and gave her a certain charm. See: G.L. Strachey, *Queen Victoria*, Sutton, London, 1921, pp. 3-5.

result was a populist loyalty which spread beyond the middle class and that both government and business harnessed for their own benefit in the summer of 1897. Added to this was the Queen's strong identification with the empire which was at its height in the last years of her reign, and moving beyond its position of marginal interest to the British governments and the general public of the time.

None of this is to suggest that Queen Victoria was a progressive force. It is simply that Victorian government created a political and social climate where Victoria appeared as almost liberal by contrast.⁴³ This was not for any personal reasons so much as for the reason that, as an institution, she referenced a much older scheme of things and a different set of values. The benign consensus that Victoria seems to have represented politically and socially no longer exists. She was unique in providing the everyday person in the street at once an escape from everyday life, and at the same time a justification for it. Victoria was the human face of hereditary rule and a representative of an older more stable world at a time when life in both the metropolis and the periphery was becoming, for many, increasingly faceless and inhuman. She may have been seen in the popular press to mirror the values of the street but she did so, as has already been established, from a distance. Victoria, as the pinnacle of Britain's prevailing social structure, still deplored all talk of class conflict; while publicly championing examples of peaceful upward social mobility in her realm, such as the rise of the son of a butcher who became during her reign the Archbishop of York, and the success of Benjamin Disraeli who had directly 'risen from the people' to the highest elected position in the land.⁴⁴

⁴³ F. Hardie, *The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1935, pp. 63-66.

⁴⁴ Such was Victoria's regard for the self made Cardinal Wolsey that she commissioned an oil painting by the German painter Karl Clasen in 1851 entitled 'Queen Victoria visiting Cardinal Wolsey' that is now in private hands. See also: E. Longford, *Victoria R.I.*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1964, p. 442.

As can clearly be seen, Victoria was a very complex character. Her life and the way she was perceived were full of contradictions. Looking at her many diary entries she seems to have seen herself as a straightforward, down-to-earth person, a straight talker and gifted with a practical common sense way of looking at problems. At the same time she betrays in those same diaries that she was also one of the world's great romantics, so much so that at times she was even labelled by some of her contemporaries as a creature of passion.⁴⁵ Victoria saw Prince Albert not, as many others did, as the German 'professor' who wrote long and boring memoranda but as a 'knight' in shining armour, her partner in one of the greatest love stories in history. While Disraeli, who was also a very successful romantic novelist, became for her not merely another of her ten prime ministers but, as captured in her diaries, a character just like those in one of his novels. Disraeli complied with his monarch's wishes and both in actions and words he transformed himself for her from a Victorian politician almost into an Elizabethan courtier. Not surprisingly then, Queen Victoria looked on the title 'Empress of India,' presented to her by Disraeli, not solely as an honour but as an almost romantic responsibility.⁴⁶

This romantic Victoria was eclipsed by her reputation among the public, perpetuated by the press, of unbroken royal sobriety.⁴⁷ The portrait painter

⁴⁵ Margaret Homans has looked deeply at the image of Victoria as a complex cultural production. She argues that the Queen appearing to be what the public craved her to be was crucial to the perceived success of her reign. The 'passionate' versions of Victoria are considered in detail in her work. See: M. Homans, *Royal Representations, Queen Victoria & British Culture, 1837-1876*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998, pp. 12-17. *Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, 1819-1901 – Diaries*: <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/browse?type=lcsb&key=Victoria%2C%20Queen%20of%20Great%20Britain%2C%201819-1901%20-%20Diaries>.

⁴⁶ *Punch*, 15 April 1876. This issue contained a much quoted cartoon showing Benjamin Disraeli dressed as some kind of magician or fortune teller selling Victoria the idea of being Empress of India and was accompanied by the caption, 'New crowns for old ones!' It is excellent evidence that sections of the press and public at the time saw dangers in a relationship based on romantic fiction. The anti-semitic subtext makes the message an even harsher one. See also: *Graphic*, 3 February 1877, p. 23; *Morning Post*, 2 January 1877, p. 5.

⁴⁷ *Morning Post*, 1 July 1897, p. 3, states that: 'Amidst the many advantages which Great Britain has derived from the conduct of affairs by her Majesty the Queen as Sovereign during the more than 60 years of her Reign is the one of sobriety.' See also: E. Longford, *Victoria R.I.*, 1964, pp. 707-708.

Heinrich von Angeli once suggested that Victoria was posing in 'too earnest' a fashion, to which she tartly replied that her seriousness was proper and expected because 'it represents the Queen.'⁴⁸ However, practicality may also have played its part in the construction of her stern image. Photographs from this period hardly ever show anyone smiling, because technology dictated that sitters had to hold still for a minute or two, and under such circumstances a smile soon became a grimace anyway.⁴⁹

The Queen was held up, not just in Britain but around the world as an exemplar of Victorian feminine virtues like character, duty, domesticity, and modesty.⁵⁰ She was prudish and for most of her reign she barred divorced women from her court, frowned on public discussions of pregnancy, and made it known that she disliked the 'modern' custom of engaged couples going about unchaperoned.⁵¹ On the other hand she was also conscious of the fact that few marriages were as blessed as hers had been. On one occasion she compared the giving of a daughter in marriage to 'taking a poor lamb to be sacrificed.' Most marriages were lotteries, she concluded, and often 'the poor woman is bodily and morally the husband's slave. That always sticks in my throat.'⁵²

⁴⁸ This incident is only quoted in Elizabeth Longford's biography of Queen Victoria. Longford does not give details of the source. See: E. Longford, *Victoria R.I.*, 1964, p. 498.

⁴⁹ Official photographs of Queen Victoria are not very different in style from those that recorded the social activities and family life of other members of society. For a discussion of Victorian photography see: A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians*, 2007, p. 221.

⁵⁰ The Mayor of Windsor's speech on Jubilee Day in 1897, discussed in some detail later in this thesis, made a major point of advising all the school girls present to take Queen Victoria as their role model in life because of all the proper feminine virtues that she possesses. See also: M. Homans, *Royal Representations*, 1998, pp. 1-9.

⁵¹ Private letter from Queen Victoria to the Crown Princess of Prussia, 11 March 1876, in: R. Fulford, ed., *Darling Child: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1871-1878*, Sutton Publishing, London, 1976, p. 257.

⁵² Private letter from Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 18 July 1861 & 21 September 1861 in: R. Fulford, ed., *Dearest Child: Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1858-1861*, Macmillan, 1964, London, pp. 182; 184; 252 & 254.

During Victoria's reign Britain was frequently preoccupied, on the international stage, with what Bryon Farwell has dubbed '*Queen Victoria's Little Wars*.'⁵³ In Asia, Britain participated in two wars with China, and in India British-led forces were involved not only with the suppression of the Great Mutiny of 1857-58 but also with intermittent fighting along the North-West Frontier. Victoria took an intense interest in these campaigns, however distant, and the public knew it. In her later years she found numerous excuses for failing to open Parliament in person, but as the newspapers pointed out she rarely missed an appointment to review 'her' troops, to visit 'her' wounded, to write directly to 'her' senior generals, and to award 'her' medals. Her last poet laureate, Alfred Austin, well illustrates the public perception of Victoria in this regard:

Yet while for peace she wrought and prayed,
 She bore the trident, wore the helm,
 And, mistress of the main, she made
 An empire of her island realm.⁵⁴

Victoria always made it quite clear that she considered soldiering the noblest of professions. It was no accident that the Diamond Jubilee parade on 22 June 1897 was a mainly military affair and that at the end of her life she decreed a military funeral for herself.⁵⁵

⁵³ According to Farwell, Victoria's reign was characterized by continual fighting. He concludes that warfare became an integral part of the Victorian era, rather than the Pax Britannia that was the official line of government and press. B. Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*, W. W. Norton & Company, London, 1973, pp. 216-17.

⁵⁴ A. Austin, in A. L. Merrill, *Life and Times of Queen Victoria*, Parish, Chicago, 1901, p. 216.

⁵⁵ *Illustrated London News*, 30 January 1901, p. 48. According to the ILN, Victoria left very specific instructions for a military funeral because she was Head of the Army and saw it as appropriate to her position. She specified that her coffin be placed on a gun carriage and drawn by 8 horses, but that in contrast to other military funerals it was to be a white funeral, rather than a black funeral. See also: C. Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, Harper Collins, London, 2001, pp. 495-499. See also: *Telegraph*, 26 January 1901, p. 3 & *Skeetch*, 2 February 1901, p. 63.

She was considered by the media to be a staunch supporter of British imperialism but at the same time was also seen as accepting the need for tolerance of religious and racial diversity within her vast empire.⁵⁶ At first glance these two ideas seem contradictory but in Victoria's case they are not. The Queen possessed an underlying belief in the superiority of Western civilisation and of British civilisation in particular, and that people under British rule or protection were more likely than others to become peaceful, humane, law-abiding, and economically prosperous. She criticised territorial expansion in her later years but if a territory had earlier come under British jurisdiction she strongly opposed the end of that rule.⁵⁷ British withdrawal would simply see a much less desirable French, German or Russian takeover. A young Winston Churchill concurred:

Give peace to warring tribes, to administer justice where all was violence, to strike the chains off the slave, to draw the richness from the soil, to place the earliest seeds of commerce and learning, to increase in whole peoples their capacities for pleasure and diminish their chance of pain.⁵⁸

Victoria came to see herself both as Queen of the homogeneous nation-state of Britain and Empress of a multiethnic and multi-religious India. Victoria never visited India, but brought the country to her in many symbolic ways: she imported Indian manservants, had an Indian secretary teach her enough Hindi for her to write diary entries in the language, had an Indian dish on most of her dinner

⁵⁶ Peter van der Veer, has looked at the impact of colonization in India from a religious point of view and the impact it had on Indians and their British administrators. He supports Edward Said's argument that imperialism brings change to both sides, looking at changes that occurred in both countries at the end of the nineteenth century. Her intimate encounters with an imagined but never visited sub-continent seem to have had a dramatic impact on her ideas about tolerance of other religions and racial diversity throughout 'her' wider empire. See: P. Van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001, pp. 40-47.

⁵⁷ 'Queen Victoria, Empire, and Excess,' A. Munich, *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 6, No. 2, *Woman and Nation* (Autumn, 1987), pp. 265-281.

⁵⁸ W.S. Churchill, *The River War: An Account of the Reconquest of the Sudan*, Hickson & Young, London, 1902, p. 37.

menus, wore and displayed jewels from India, and had constructed a 'Durbar Room' for Osborne House, with art and artefacts, so that she could step into her own little India whenever she wanted.⁵⁹ As such, she insisted that other traditions and religions in that empire also deserved respect. She opposed the forcible Christianisation of India and could see no reason why a qualified black African should not be ordained a bishop in the Church of England or why a Muslim from India should not serve as her man servant at court.⁶⁰

Queen Victoria often behaved in what would be considered today as an unconstitutional manner, but not by the standards of her own era. It was only following the publication, three decades after her death, of many of her post-1861 letters that scholars became conscious of how deeply involved 'the widow at Windsor' had actually been in day-to-day politics and in the choosing of cabinet ministers, diplomats, and bishops - at times even Prime Ministers. She preferred to work behind the scenes, and did not like to be on public display for political purposes. Only intermittently was she willing to participate in large public spectacles, and wrote that she did not see such ceremonial as her primary role in government.⁶¹ In a number of respects, she was in this, as David Cannadine suggests, 'The last Hanoverian sovereign.'⁶² Whether she liked being there or not, the Queen on public ceremonial display was a living representation of the state and its long history. Ministries formed and ministries fell, but the Queen went on as a

⁵⁹ There is an extensive and ongoing historical discussion of just how and why Victoria developed such strong opinions on the status and importance of her Indian subjects. See: C. Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, Harper Collins, London, 2000, p. 361; E. Longford, *Victoria R.I.*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1964, pp. 405-406; D. Marshall, *The Life and Times of Queen Victoria*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1972, p. 184; G. St Aubyn, *Queen Victoria: A Portrait*, Sinclair-Stevenson, London, p. 434.

⁶⁰ P. Van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters*, 2001, pp. 14-28.

⁶¹ F. Hardie, *The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1935, pp. 26-29.

⁶² D. Cannadine, 'The Last Hanoverian Sovereign? The Victorian Monarchy in Historical Perspective, 1688-1988,' in *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honor of Lawrence Stone*, J. Rosenheim, ed., New York, 1989, pp. 127-165.

symbol of the longevity of Britain's institutions. In an age deeply fascinated by historic origins, Queen Victoria was the direct descendant of King George I, the first of the Hanoverians, and of King James I, the first of the English Stuarts and the prime medieval Scottish dynasty. In consequence, she was also a direct descendant of King Henry VII, the first of the Tudors, and therefore of England's great medieval monarchs King Edward I and before him King Henry II and, even earlier, the Norman William the Conqueror and the Anglo-Saxon Alfred the Great.⁶³

Flags and anthems have always been important but for a nation and an empire to possess a personal symbolic head in the form of a very old Queen, like Victoria, was doubly lucky. The existence of such a monarch as a focus of loyalty also helped to concentrate loyalty in the face of the possible confusion implicit in the fact that a person might at the very same time, be a loyal Londoner, a loyal Englishman, an inhabitant of the United Kingdom and a member of a global British Empire. It was a complex web of allegiances that overlapped and conflicted but there was one constant - at the centre of it all, unchanging, was Queen Victoria.⁶⁴

Although some of Queen Victoria's private letters and journals were destroyed, enough remain to build a multidimensional picture of both her private and public life. We know quite a bit about her in her various roles, as monarch and as

⁶³ Victoria's German background was, however, especially during Albert's time the subject of some humour and ridicule. This is part of a broadside entitled *Lovely Albert!* that according to Lytton Strachey appeared in October 1851 'Chorus: We'll send him home and make him groan, Oh, All you've played the deuce then; The German lad has acted sad And turned tail with the Russians. Last Monday night, all in a fright, Al out of bed did tumble. The German lad was raving mad, How he did groan and grumble! He cried to Vic, I've cut my stick: To St. Petersburg go right slap. When Vic, tis said, jumped out of bed, And wopped him with her night-cap.' Quoted from: Anon. 'Lovely Albert' in J. Ashton, *Modern Street Ballads*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1888.

⁶⁴ The most influential discussion of the layered identity of Britons is: L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1701-1837*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1992. See also T. Wright & A. Gamble, *Britishness: Perspectives on the British Question*, John Wiley and Sons, West Sussex, 2009.

matriarch, and as the symbol of an age. Few letter writers have revealed their feelings more openly.⁶⁵ On occasions she could behave in a stuffy, obstinate, and selfish manner; at other times she epitomised grace and attracted both awe and devotion. Whatever her errors of judgement, none proved fatal to her influence or to the dignity of her office and her image remains engraved on collective memory.

Because of Victoria's many contradictions - feminist historians, in particular Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich, writing in the late 1990s had trouble with her meaning.⁶⁶ She was, as has already been established, seen both as a public figure with widespread influence and as the epitome of domestic womanhood. On the one hand Victoria's actions were a very public example to all that women could handle even the very highest role in society, her words made it clear that she opposed the extension of suffrage to women and the entry of women into the professions.⁶⁷

Victoria was the female head of a patriarchal society and her success as such provided sizable ammunition, whether she liked the idea or not, in the fight for women's rights. She publicly supported the idea of 'separate spheres' for male and

⁶⁵ In 1858 Queen Victoria and her then seventeen year old daughter Vicky, who was married to the soon to be Kaiser of Germany, exchanged a number of intimate letters sparked by the news that Vicky might already be pregnant. Victoria's response was candid to say the least: 'It is most odious but they have spread a report that you & I are both in what I call an unhappy condition!...All who love you hope you will be spared this trial for a year yet...If I had had a year of happy enjoyment with dear Papa to myself how happy I would have been! But I was three and a half [years] older; and therefore I was in for it at once -- and furious I was.' R. Fulford, ed., *Beloved Mama: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the German Crown Princess, 1878-1885*, Evans, London, 1981, p. 10.

⁶⁶ Both Homans and Munich find Victoria a paradox, neither one thing nor another, she was not a consort nor was she a king, and she baffled her own generations as much as ours as to just exactly what she was. She stood for maternal and middle values, while also being associated both positively and negatively with what was considered the man's world of British imperialism but repudiated the values of other powerful women of the time. M. Homans & A. Munich (eds.), *Remaking Queen Victoria*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997; & M. Homans, *Royal Representations*, 1998, pp. 1-17.

⁶⁷ Victoria wrote in 1870, 'let women be what God intended, a helpmate for man, but with totally different duties and vocations.' E. Longford, *Victoria R.I.*, 1964, p. 395 & L. Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1987, p. 290.

female while at the same time her private actions often did not.⁶⁸ In private she insisted on her own girls being given educational opportunities equal to those offered the males in her household. While in public, her stance was that there was a masculine domain and a feminine domain. That the domestic world, the management of the household, the raising of children, the upholding of standards of morality and rules of etiquette, and matchmaking should be left under feminine control.⁶⁹ When she proclaimed that women having the same rights as men would upset the natural order of things it was listened to with concern. It was reflected, for example, in Robert Browning's poem 'Porphyria's Lover,' where it is suggested that Porphyria leaves the boundaries of the domestic sphere and crosses over into the male narrator's sphere with drastic consequences; dragging him to the edge of insanity because of her transgression.⁷⁰ Victoria openly admired numerous female novelists and painters, and looked on Florence Nightingale as 'one who has set so bright an example to our sex.'⁷¹ Yet she vigorously opposed the later Victorian movement working towards complete legal, educational, and professional equality for all women, stating categorically in 1872 that: '...this mad, wicked folly of Women's Rights, with all its attendant horrors...is a subject which makes the Queen so furious that she cannot contain herself. God made men and women different - then let them remain each in their own position.'⁷²

⁶⁸ For a detailed discussion of the complex Victorian notion of separate male and female spheres see: M. Danahay, *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2005; and L. Davidoff & C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*, Routledge, London, 2002.

⁶⁹ When Victoria said that the push for women's rights and suffrage were 'dangerous & unchristian,' it was taken seriously, especially by those who also saw her as the head of the Church of England. D. Thompson, *Queen Victoria: A Woman on the Throne*, Virago, London, 1990, pp. 124-125.

⁷⁰ C. Ross, 'Porphyria's Lover,' *The Explicator*, Winter 2002, p. 68.

⁷¹ A. C. Benson and Esher, ed., *The Letters of Queen Victoria, 1837-1861*, 1st series, 3 vols., John Murray, London, 1908, p. 170.

⁷² Quoted from Victoria's letters in: T. Martin, *Queen Victoria As I Knew Her*, John Murray, London, 1908, p. 69.

Victoria described her own position as 'anomalous'.⁷³ But, in practice she could not have failed to see that it and the spirit of responsibility that she brought to it, undermined the contention that women should by nature be disqualified from exercising political authority. During her long years of widowhood there is no evidence that at any time she considered seriously the possibility of abdicating and handing control to a male member of the royal household. Those members of Parliament who, during the 1870s, annually contended that the parliamentary franchise should be granted to women householders, often cited the eminent position occupied by the Queen as a decisive argument in favour of their cause.⁷⁴ In many respects her sex probably helped Victoria maintain her authority. The code of Victorian chivalry that placed women on a moral pedestal made it more difficult for her ministers to argue with their monarch than if she had been a man. A complex ideology existed when dealing with femininity. Dealing with a feminine monarch was even more complex. The whole idea of 'protection,' an important driving force with attitudes about the difference between the feminine sphere and the masculine sphere, must have been a minefield for politicians dealing with the monarch.⁷⁵ She was able to display her determination and even her idiosyncrasies in a manner that, during the years she occupied the throne, probably would not have been tolerated in a male sovereign.

During the Diamond Jubilee year of 1897 a number of prominent Suffragettes wrote from across the empire to Queen Victoria asking for a public statement of support for their cause. Although these women were not successful in persuading Victoria to publicly, or even privately, support women's rights, the fact that they

⁷³ The term appears in a number of Victoria's letters, showing that she too was aware of her paradoxical position within society.

⁷⁴ M.D. Pugh, 'Politicians and the Woman's Vote 1914-1918,' *History*, Oct 1974, Vol. 59 Issue 197, pp. 358-374.

⁷⁵ M. Phillips, *The Ascent of Woman: A History of the Suffragette Movement*, Abacus, Essex, 2004, pp. 1-5.

chose to approach her clearly shows the symbolic heft and broad appeal of Victoria at the end of her reign. These women believed that the support of Victoria because of both her crown and her image as ideal woman, would 'greatly promote and consolidate ... those principles of Justice and Equity which will sustain in permanence the vast empire over which Your Majesty Reigns.'⁷⁶ Moreover, despite her opposition to many of their goals, Suffragettes could neither ignore nor reject the most prominent woman of the age. Some likely felt, along with other women, a special connection with the maternal figure who occupied the throne.

British republicans, however, did not hold her or what she stood for in high regard - but they could scarcely escape her. A weak political force in the last years of Victoria's reign, republicans were nonetheless harsh in their criticism of the widespread enthusiasm for the monarchy.⁷⁷ Significantly, a number of critics focused their ire on the pomp and circumstance of the public displays intended to buttress support for the Crown. A prominent Socialist, Keir Hardie, for example derided the 'toady who crawls through the mire of self-abasement...to bask in the smile of royalty.' The monarchy, Hardie said, had become 'an empty form ... a gilded mediocrity.' Rather than despair at the millions watching the Diamond Jubilee parade in 1897, Hardie argued that the emptiness of the monarchy would become more apparent through such celebrations, and predicted that 'Every such show ... hastens the end.'⁷⁸ In their critique of the Diamond Jubilee *Reynolds's News* exploited the negative connotation of the word spectacle. Noting the irony of Victoria's German origins, the paper wrote: 'we are witnessing the spectacle of the English People in search of a national ideal.' Furthermore they claimed that the

⁷⁶ TNA: PRO HO 45/9912/B21471D. 'Address from Women of Great Britain and the Colonies,' 21 June 1897, in Home Office Minutes.

⁷⁷ C. Bloom, *Restless Revolutionaries: A History of Britain's Fight for a Republic*, The History Press, Gloucestershire, 2010, pp. 1-6. See also: S. Nash & A. Taylor, eds., *Republicanism in Victorian Society*, Sutton, London, 2000.

⁷⁸ K. Hardie, 'The Diamond Jubilee - Monarchy or Republic?', Keir Hardie is quoted in: C. Chapman & P. Raben, eds. *Debrett's Queen Victoria's Jubilees*, Debrett's Peerage Ltd., London, 1977, p. 58.

'toady-mad nation' was 'making itself ridiculous in the eyes of the world in celebration of the Jubilee of a ruler made in Hanover.' ⁷⁹ However, *Reynolds's News* also acknowledged that their readers might want to read about the monarch and her Jubilee. Alongside editorial criticism of the event they provided extensive coverage of the procession. They even acknowledged the size of the crowds, although they did suggest that onlookers were less enthusiastic than other publications had reported. ⁸⁰

This was, at best, criticism of Victoria from the margins. There was no effective radical critique of her in the last years of her reign and what did appear had little public and popular impact on the way Victoria was imagined, how her big public events were experienced or how she would be remembered. In part this was because she had by now become as much a commercial as a political entity, a significant shift that will be discussed in more detail later. Her novelty and importance did not rise from any single thing. Rather, it rose from the way that myriad representations in the metropolis and on the periphery swirled around her and in the cumulative impact of many small things: souvenirs, posters, advertisements, games, songs, and even poetry.

In the final years of her reign two personalities in the one person were being celebrated: the regal, imperial monarch, and the sympathetic mother-figure. Both were constructed and shaped by many diverse sources: politicians and civil servants, jingo journalists, entrepreneurs, advertising agents, photographers, artists and entertainers in Britain and across the empire. Images of Queen Victoria riding

⁷⁹ *Reynolds's News*, 6 June 1897, p.1. However, it is a lone dissenting voice as I was unable to find another major publication that had a similar opinion of the event. Far more typical was the over the top praise of the event in: *London Daily News*, 26 June 1897, pp. 3-4; *Morning Post*, 25 June 1897, p. 6 & *The Times*, 27 June 1897, p. 3.

⁸⁰ *Reynolds's News*, 6 June 1897, p. 1. See also: *Daily Mail*, *Telegraph* & *The Times* in June 1897, all of which made special emphasis of the enthusiasm and excellent behaviour of the very large crowds.

through the streets of London during the Diamond Jubilee were capable of bearing many varied meanings. Just a few years later in the aftermath of her death in 1901 the depth of people's attachment to 'their' Queen became apparent, as did her symbolic importance to nation and empire. In the months and years that followed the Queen's passing her complex charismatic image coupled with her status as the celebrity of the age would be reified in memory and preserved in marble and bronze.

The nineteenth century had been Victoria's century. During her reign the British Empire had risen to the pinnacle of its glory. The industrial revolution acted as regular presentation, helping to maintain visibility across the world as the British Empire in turn a model acted on its flag, a very big idea that became manipulated in the image of the Queen herself. Such hegemony, however, did strange things. If the ship sailed on the sea and just like the sea it was not alone with a few nautical signals, with its mast, a reflection to a new generation. The big idea, in this case was a 'new' hegemony, and during the next years of the reign of Queen Victoria, those of influence in British society thought they had discovered a new way of looking at Britain and its Empire. The first impression is one that felt, and the degree was that it felt words were the parts of the world that it belonged to the age of exploration, being able to reach places where the imagination could not, dreams and hopes that walked not as reality but the world and being a world of the world, it would represent in front the highest form of human society, the world, and therefore, power and prestige shared by the world represented the imagination and the world and the allegory of railways. Ernest Porter however has previously argued that the new conservatism was a result, symptomatic of a British society in moral decline, a conservative institution had been increasingly forced that it was a product of British

2. All the World's a Stage

The accumulation of her charisma and the construction of Victoria as a national and then an imperial icon had been occurring slowly from the day that she ascended the throne in 1837, but it was a progress with a number of peaks and troughs that accelerated markedly towards the end of her reign. The highest point came towards the very end in the form of Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. It was a British celebration above all others that lifted her celebrity status and charisma to undreamed of heights. It did not happen by accident but, surprisingly, much of its nature and success was strangely haphazard.

The nineteenth century had been Victoria's century. During her reign the British Empire had risen to the pinnacle of its glory. Her industrial pioneers acted as secular missionaries, helping to transform societies across the world to the British model. It was a model based on an idea, a very big idea, that became encapsulated in the image of the Queen herself. Such big ideas, however, are strange things. If the idea strikes a receptive imagination it can even be an old idea with a new renewed strength, able to make a challenge to a new generation. The big idea, in this case was a 'New' Imperialism and during the later years of the reign of Queen Victoria, those of influence in British society thought they had discovered a new way of looking at Britain and its empire. The New Imperialism became their faith, and the dogma was that Britain would lead the parts of the world that it controlled in the arts of civilization, bring light to dark places, teach the true political method, nourish and protect liberal tradition; act as trustee for the weak, and bring foreign arrogance low. It would represent in itself the highest aims of human society; command, and deserve, a status and prestige shared by no other; captivate the imagination and hold fast the allegiance of millions. Bernard Porter, however, has persuasively argued that this new imperialism was actually symptomatic of a British decline in world standings, whereas previously historians had almost universally argued that it was a product of British

strength. He sees Victoria's elevation to 'Empress of India' by Disraeli as an effort to hide behind a grand gesture the decline of Britain's power (in real terms) that was taking place from the 1870s onward. Joseph Chamberlain in turn, put forward from the 1880s onward, the argument that a new imperialism based on the strength of self-governing colonial powerhouses was the only way to Britain to recover its dominant place in world export in the face of new and tough American and German gains.¹ The idea did this by the propagation of peculiar myths, the most essential of which was that regarding the figure of Queen Victoria herself who was transformed into an imperishable, perfect object. (Figure 7.) Although jingoism was able to win and hold the favour of the British public for less than twenty years, the imperial idea, animating an imperial code remained the dynamic in the thought and action of the ruling classes of Britain until the 1950s. Long after times had changed and the days of empire were conclusively gone, the statues of Victoria, and the invented traditions associated with the monarchy, remained.²



Figure 7. 'The Secret of England's Greatness' by Thomas Jones Barker oil on canvas, circa 1863, National Portrait Gallery, London, 4969.

¹ B. Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1913*, Longman, London, 1996, pp. 5-9.

² In the context of this developing sense of a new imperialism the monarchy was vitally important. After becoming Empress of India in 1876, the Jubilees were able to become great imperial occasions that were attended by colonial officials, colonial soldiers and colonial tourists, and playing a significant role in the imperial reformulation of identity itself, and all of it centred on Victoria. See: B. Porter, *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1913*, Longman, London, 1996, pp. 5-9.

The key public event in engendering this faith and emotion was the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. As such, it is an event that requires detailed analysis. Given its importance, you might expect to find that it was a meticulously planned and executed piece of propaganda. This was not the case. Chance, as much as anything, played its part when towards the end of 1896 it was decided to appoint a committee to arrange some kind of Diamond Jubilee celebration for Victoria in 1897. Although the press, the business world and the general public had been pleasantly surprised by Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1887, those behind the scenes knew that in reality it had been a close run thing and if something like it happened again they were determined to avoid any muddle and lack of co-ordination this time around.³ The Queen only reluctantly agreed to the appointment of the Prince of Wales as the person in charge. Her confidence in him was shaky so she also appointed his brother, the Duke of Connaught, to assist him. She seems to have misjudged the situation because the records show that Connaught did not have an aptitude for pageantry or the imagination to put him in any position to question any of his brother's decisions.⁴ The Prince of Wales placed himself firmly in charge. It was a gamble on his part, he had much to gain from a good show, and much to lose from a poor one. His reputation with those of influence and with the public at large was a pale shadow of his mother's. Being the organizer of a highly successful Diamond Jubilee would lift his reputation and profile with all. A botched celebration could spell disaster.

The non-royal members of the Diamond Jubilee Committee were: the fourteenth Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward; Lord Lathom, Lord Chamberlain; the Duke of Portland, Master

³ TNA: PRO HQ 45/9912/B21471D. Sir Arthur Bigge, Private Secretary to Queen Victoria during the last years of her reign, is quite candid in his analysis and critical in particular of London City authorities in the area of crowd control and timing.

⁴ This is, of course, simply the opinion of Fritz Ponsonby but he was on hand at the meetings and deeply involved in the process. His first hand account passed down to his son gives us an insight into the thinking that was going on behind the scenes in 1897, and in the candid moments that official minutes of the committee cannot. A. Ponsonby, *Henry Ponsonby: Queen Victoria's Private Secretary*, Macmillan, London, 1942, p. 156.

of the Horse; Lord Edward Pelham-Clinton, Master of the Household; Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane; Sir Fleetwood Edwards, Keeper of the Privy Purse; Sir Arthur Bigge; Sir Edward Hamilton; and the Honourable Reginald Baliol Brett, Permanent Secretary of the Office of Works.⁵

The committee first met on 2 February 1897 with the Prince of Wales in the chair. From the minutes the meeting appears to have been efficient and professional, probably because royal officials had been informally discussing the Diamond Jubilee since October 1896 when Sir Arthur Bigge drew up the first rough outline of proposed events. The Golden Jubilee, of which most of them had had experience, would be the blueprint, and they were at pains to avoid previous mistakes.⁶

They decided that royal guests were to arrive in London on Saturday 19 June. The Master of the Household expected between 40 and 50 of them who should, 'so far as possible, be lodged in one hotel with no royal residences other than Buckingham Palace being used.' It is interesting that he also suggested that royals and colonial officials should be housed together, but that this was opposed by the Prince of Wales, and that the idea was also later declined by the Queen as 'too innovative.'⁷

⁵ The membership of the committee must have been of most interest to the official classes, the list only being published in *The Times* at the time of its formation, however come June 1897 the list was published in the *Telegraph* and even the *Daily Mail*. See also: A. Ponsonby, *Henry Ponsonby*, 1942, p.156.

⁶ Ponsonby was most concerned about what Bigge, in his analysis of the 1887 Jubilee, had identified as security concerns where what he considered poor crowd and parade management led to slow progress through the streets and offered up the Queen and other royals as potential targets 'for Fenian Brotherhood or any anarchist present.' F. Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1951, pp. 63-64.

⁷ The phrasing is ambiguous, but I take it to mean that royals still considered themselves to be in a social station above any colonial official and that housing both groups in the same hotel would cause hostility from those members of the royal family who might feel slighted by such accommodation arrangements. TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18. Letter to the Queen's private secretary from the Home Office, 4 February 1897. TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/19. Letter from Queen's private secretary to Home Office, 11 February 1897.

Most of the discussion at that first meeting dealt with how the Queen should 'show herself to her people' on 22 June, 'Jubilee Day.' Hamilton made it quite clear that this was an event to which the government attached great importance and that they were prepared 'to contribute largely towards the expenses attendant upon it' but only if they agreed with the nature of the arrangements.⁸ The stumbling-block was the Queen's old age and frailty and the strict parameters she set for the committee to work within. Firstly, because the Golden Jubilee had ended up personally costing her £50,000, she made it clear that this time she was not prepared to pay anything. Secondly, although she agreed to participate in a procession, she was adamant that she would not leave her carriage for any ceremony, including a religious one.⁹

Working within these constraints the first suggestion was that Victoria would drive in procession to St Paul's Cathedral. On news of the Queen's arrival a service of thanksgiving that was already taking place inside the cathedral would then be moved to the outer steps (which were to be covered), and there the service would be concluded with 'some sort of Te Deum & Benediction.'¹⁰

There was a problem with this, of course. How did you get the congregation and participants from within the cathedral to the steps outside without jostling for positions and utter confusion? This first plan was almost unanimously decided to be unsuitable if not impossible.¹¹ A second option contemplated was to conduct the ceremony at The Tower of London. This was rejected because of the difficulty of access. The suggestion of a reception for all the mayors of the United Kingdom to be held outside Mansion House

⁸ This may have been in conflict with Bigge & Ponsonby's security concerns. See: V. Hicks Beach, *Life of Sir Michael Hicks Beach Volume II*, MacMillan, London, 1932, pp. 51-52.

⁹ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. First Minutes Book of Diamond Jubilee Committee, 2 February 1897. See also: J.L. Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, p. 222.

¹⁰ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. First Minutes Book of Diamond Jubilee Committee, 2 February 1897.

¹¹ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. First Minutes Book of Diamond Jubilee Committee, 2 February 1897.

was dismissed as too trivial. An idea put forward to use St Paul's only as a kind of rostrum to present an address while ignoring the ecclesiastical function of the building also met with little support. Hyde Park, too, was considered as a location where the Queen on a ride around London might pause to be addressed, 'but there were also many objections to this.'

¹² Eventually it was decided that there had to be some kind of religious ceremony.¹³

Perhaps the Queen could be persuaded to enter St Paul's from a private pavilion to be erected at the side of the cathedral? Sir Fleetwood Edwards, was designated to present this idea and various alternatives to Victoria.¹⁴

In the end, none of the suggestions put forward by Edwards impressed the Queen. Nor did she like other alternatives put to her later. She especially disliked one plan for her carriage to enter St Paul's in a lift. Schomberg McDonnell, the Prime Minister's secretary, thought that the Queen's horses might be taken out of their traces at the cathedral and her carriage drawn up the main aisle by men. 'It would be a magnificent spectacle,' he told Bigge; 'horses would be better, of course, but bringing them into the building would undoubtedly shock people.'¹⁵ The idea was rejected out of hand, Victoria would not be a circus act.

The main committee temporarily let the matter drop and took up the task of arranging for congratulatory addresses from the Houses of Parliament. Meanwhile the Queen let it be

¹² TNA: PRO LC 2/137. It is amazing that Hyde Park was considered in any way given that three assassination attempts had already been made there on Victoria's life. The first in 1840 by Edward Oxford, the second in 1842 by John Francis and a third in 1849 by William Hamilton. The minutes show that a short but robust discussion occurred regarding the suitability of Hyde Park as the main venue of proceedings, but nobody mentioned the obvious danger of the location.

¹³ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. Despite all the miss givings about him, it was the Duke of Connaught who came up with the location of the thanksgiving service, on the steps of St Paul's Cathedral. His logic in choosing it over Westminster Abbey, namely that it fronted a large square with easy carriage access and had a 'nice' flight of steps that could accommodate choirs and religious people.

¹⁴ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. The Queen's reaction to a complete disregard for one of her three parameters was, unfortunately, not recorded but can be imagined.

¹⁵ Mr. Schomberg MacDonnell to Sir Arthur Bigge, 24 November 1896, quoted in J.L. Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, p.222. Also see: *Letters of Queen Victoria, 3rd Series, Vol. III*, Murray Hill, London, 1932, p.105.

known she preferred a suggestion which seems first to have been made by Sir Arthur Bigge in a November 1896 letter to McDonnell: there should be a religious service at St. Paul's, held in the open air in front of the cathedral, with the Queen remaining in her carriage. Asked for his opinion on this unprecedented operation, Randall Davidson, Bishop of Winchester, told Edwards on 14 February, 'It is clear the thing can be managed, and, given fine weather, it may be very effective in all respects.'¹⁶

The matter being agreed upon, the first of the sub-committees was established to make suitable arrangements for the service. Called after its Chairman, the Dean of St Paul's (the Very Reverend Robert Gregory), it included the Archbishop of Canterbury; Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London; Bishop Davidson; Reginald Baliol Brett, Permanent Secretary to the Office of Works; Colonel Sir Edward Bradford, Commissioner of Metropolitan Police and the third Baron Methuen. The Duke of Connaught, was given ceremonial command of the parade troops and Methuen was to be his Chief of Staff.¹⁷ The steps of the cathedral would be occupied by bishops, clergy and choirs 'in proper ecclesiastical dress,' and two military bands. The service was to take only about twenty minutes and would consist of a 'Te Deum & probably some prayer & hymns', closing with a benediction. 'Such a ceremony in the very heart of the City,' Archbishop Temple told the Bishop of Winchester, 'would be an expression of thanks to God not soon to be forgotten.' As Bishop Davidson told Sir Arthur Bigge, sounding a note of warning, this would only be true if the service were seen in the proper perspective, as only an aspect of Jubilee day, not as its focal point. It would be vastly different from the elaborate Thanksgiving Service at Westminster Abbey that had been the focus in 1887. 'If the S. Paul's Service were regarded as the objective,' he wrote on 1 March, 'it would be in my opinion unsatisfactory in all ways as the service itself would seem miserably inadequate to such an occasion.' Its incidental character had to be established. 'This ought to be made

¹⁶ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. Fleetwood Edwards in reply to a question from Arthur Bigge.

¹⁷ TNA: PRO LC 2/140. Minutes & Correspondence of the Main Organizing Committee's -Service - Sub-Committee.

clear beforehand,' Davidson continued, 'so as to show that it is not 'The Queen going to S. Paul's' but instead 'The Queen's triumphal procession through the capital of the empire.'¹⁸ If this was properly understood, there was no reason why the service should not be the success the Archbishop of Canterbury anticipated. There were some who were not so sure.

The Prince of Wales was one. When given the Archbishop's plan it can clearly be seen in the nature of his questioning, recorded in committee minutes, that he was plainly undecided whether it was the best arrangement. In the end, his objections were to do with the details of how all this was to be efficiently arranged, rather than the overall plan. While another was the Queen's cousin, Princess Augusta, Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz who on the other hand had objections far more basic and undoubtedly amusing to those who heard them. In a perfect Lady Bracknell moment, upon hearing what she called the 'appalling news' about the nature of the service she exploded to her niece, Princess Mary, Duchess of York 'No! That out-of-doors Service before St. Paul's! Has one ever heard of such a thing! After a 60 years reign to thank God in the street!'¹⁹

Despite the Grand Duchess' outraged incredulity and the misgivings of the Prince of Wales, the Queen herself was quite satisfied with the unusual arrangement, for it not only assured that the service would be short but also that she would not suffer from the sense of confinement which, she often noted in her journal, made churchgoing unpleasant. The Queen's insistence on this arrangement meant a great deal of work for the Office of Works which had to arrange for seating at the West entrance of St Paul's, and for those arranging the parade route and the procession through London. As the chief item of Jubilee day it was now considerably more important than its 1887 predecessor had been.

¹⁸ TNA: PRO LC 2/140. Minutes 24 February 1897.

¹⁹ The incident is first quoted in V. Watson, *A Queen At Home*, W.H. Allen, London, 1952, pp. 76-77. Lady Bracknell is Algernon's snobbish, mercenary, and domineering aunt and Gwendolen's mother in Oscar Wilde's play 'The Importance of Being Earnest.' Lady Bracknell married well, and her primary goal in life is to see her daughter do the same. Through Lady Bracknell, Wilde satirises the hypocrisy and stupidity of the British aristocracy. She is cunning, narrow-minded, authoritarian, and the most quotable character in the play. Princess Augusta, Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz seems made for the part.

Importantly, the focus was subtly shifted from church to state. It is no small matter that the outdoor nature of the service meant that all the ceremonial proceedings were now open to the public. It shifted the emphasis of the event from the service to the procession, from private to public, from religious occasion to state occasion.²⁰

In charge of the parade and other ceremonial arrangements for the Office of Works was Reginald Baliol Brett, the forty-five-year-old permanent secretary of the department, and son of the first Baron Esher. Over the years a legend has arisen that, in the words of his biographer Peter Fraser, Brett 'stage managed' the Diamond Jubilee.²¹ That it was Brett's Jubilee. In the many pages of committee minutes that I have read, however, few provide discernible substance to this claim. Brett was only added to the General Committee as something of an afterthought, having spent a productive weekend at Sandringham with the Prince of Wales, where he managed to persuade the Chairman that it would be wrong for the Office of Works to go unrepresented on his committee. There is no evidence in the record that he had more influence or did more than might have been expected, because of his official position. In fact, Brett found himself confined to the task of overseeing the construction of about 20,000 seats, some built for domestic and foreign dignitaries, the rest rented for 12s. 6d. in aid, as it turned out, of the Royal Military Benevolent and Royal Naval Fund and the Civil Service Benevolent Fund. Only later was he also given responsibility for watering the large force of cavalry and artillery which marched on Jubilee day and for camping some 10,000 participating infantry in Hyde Park.²²

But Brett's official responsibilities did give him membership of another Diamond Jubilee Sub-Committee, the one headed by the Master of the Horse and charged with ordering the route and handling the processional arrangements. Its other members included Sir Henry

²⁰ TNA: PRO LC 2/140. General Correspondence.

²¹ P. Fraser, *Lord Esher: A Political Biography*, Hart-Davis MacGibbon, London, 1973, p. 13.

²² *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 4 April 1897, p. 6 & *London Daily News*, 15 April 1897, p. 2.

Ewart, Crown Equerry; Sir Edward Bradford; Lord Methuen; Colonel's Byng and Carrington; and Lieutenant Colonel Henry Smith.²³

This committee drew up a tentative procession route through London's West End. It was a route, however, which it was hoped Queen Victoria would allow to be considerably extended so as to include a wide sweep south of the Thames. This was an idea put forward by the Bishop of Southwark. Two days later the Duke of Portland took this recommendation before the Main Committee, where it was made known that it was 'strongly supported' by Arthur Balfour, Conservative Leader in the House of Commons, 'as taking in a dense population who had never had an opportunity of seeing H.M.' It was not a problem.²⁴ Victoria had already let it be known that she would ride 'howsoever long she was desired to,' so long as the Diamond Jubilee expenses were entirely met by the government.²⁵

Once the route had been settled, there remained the more intricate problem of working out just who should be in the procession and where they should be. Although the Queen had characteristically made it clear that she would not even consider using the accoutrements of full state, members of the committee were full of suggestions on how to make the display more imposing than that of the Golden Jubilee. A suggestion came from the orchestral conductor Henry J. Wood, who wrote to the Lord Chamberlain at the beginning of February 1897 promoting the idea that brass bands be used; even if they were not allowed to march in the procession, he said, they ought to be placed at intervals along the parade route. Committee members agreed with him that it had been a great defect ten

²³ *London Daily News*, 12 June 1897, p. 5 & *The Times*, 14 June 1897, p. 3. See also: P. Fraser, *Lord Esher*, 1973, p. 19.

²⁴ *The Times*, 21 June 1897, p. 7. See also: TNA: PRO LC 2/137. Minutes, 15 February 1897.

²⁵ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. Minutes from the first meeting of Planning Committee, 2 February 1897.

years before that there had been no rousing martial music in the parade and this time bands should certainly be included.²⁶

Other matters caused a few concerns. The Lord Mayor of London was asked to waive the corporation's privilege of presenting an address at the boundaries of the City. He would not. The address had to take place, not only because it showed that the corporation exercised jurisdiction in the City but also because the troops would otherwise be marching through its streets without permission.²⁷ It was also debated whether or not the colonial Premiers should go in the Queen's procession and be escorted by troops from their respective dominions. No, they could only have a small procession by themselves, accompanied and not escorted by their troops for, as is recorded in committee minutes, the Prince of Wales pointed out that only the monarch could properly have an escort.²⁸

The navy was an even bigger problem. In February the General Committee had decided that a suggestion made by George Goschen, First Lord of the Admiralty, to include a contingent of bluejackets in the procession was impractical, because it would delay the progress too much. Goschen, however, refused to let the matter drop and secured the backing of the Prince of Wales. Just as the matter was going before the Queen for her final approval, Lord Wolseley, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, caught wind of it and protested. 'Whilst most anxious to meet the navy as our sister service in this & in all other matters,' he wrote, 'I feel that their request is very much what a request would be from us

²⁶ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. Minutes from the Planning Committee, 24 February 1897.

²⁷ This is detailed in the *Book of Ceremonials of the City of London*, The Corporation, London, 1882. Issued under the direction and with the approval of the Privileges Committee of the Court of Aldermen, for the guidance of the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, the Sheriffs and the Corporation Officers.' See also: TNA: PRO LC 2/137.

²⁸ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. The minutes from the Planning Committee, 3 March 1897. These minutes give us a little insight into the minor conflict that took place among some of the planners about the exact purpose of the parade. The subtext of the discussions at this meeting was clearing up just whether this was to be a royal occasion or a colonial showcase.

to have the Life Guards on board the Fleet during the coming Naval Review.²⁹ The controversy over the bluejackets plunged the royal Chairman into a depression. As Knollys told Sir Fleetwood Edwards in a committee memo, 'The Prince of Wales is beginning to be much worried about the arrangements and gets rather in despair about them sometimes as when something or another is ready for the Queen's approval, it is upset.' In the end, reluctantly, the Queen approved the presence of the bluejackets to quiet the situation, although she told Wolseley she thought he was right.³⁰

Desiring to build upon the successful celebrations of the Queen's fiftieth year on the throne in 1887, the civil servants and politicians who devised this celebration wanted to clearly emphasise the fact that it was all about the Queen having reigned longer than any previous British monarch.³¹ Although the record reign had been achieved in December 1896, the celebrations were delayed until the end of her sixtieth year.³² There was no tradition of sixtieth anniversaries, so even the name of the event was problematic. A list of possible names had been assembled, and in January of 1897 Victoria selected the term 'Diamond Jubilee.'³³

None of the Jubilee's official planners ever spoke explicitly of any deeper meaning behind the event. It was simply an anniversary and one in a series of public royal occasions. The

²⁹ This incident and the correspondence is quoted in: J.L. Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, p. 227.

³⁰ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. Memo 118 from Knollys told Fleetwood Edwards.

³¹ E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, p. 263-307.

³² TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18. Letter from Queen's Private Secretary to Home Office, 27 January 1897.

³³ *The Times*, 16 January 1897, p.4 & *Telegraph*, 17 January 1897, p. 6. See also: TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18.

Thanksgiving Service for the Prince of Wales' Recovery in 1872 had set a precedent.³⁴ (Figure 8.) The public reaction to that event and subsequent others, where the monarch was on public display, was very positive and seemed to improve both her personal standing and the standing of the crown. This became the motivation for similar events that followed. By 1897, however, her popularity was so high and republicanism so weak that the motivation had shifted to a far more ambitious desire to capitalise on her popularity as a unifying force for Britain and the empire.



RECEPTION OF THE QUEEN AND THE PRINCE OF WALES IN LONDON ON TUESDAY.

Figure 8. 'Reception of the Queen and the Prince of Wales on Tuesday,' *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 28 February 1872.

³⁴ *Illustrated London News*, 28 February 1872, pp. 1-6. The Thanksgiving Service for the Recovery of the Prince of Wales held in St. Paul's Cathedral was widely reported by all the major newspapers in the most glowing of terms. 13,000 people squeezed into St. Paul's Cathedral for the service in appreciation for the recovery of the Prince from typhoid. Thousands more lined the streets for the procession from Buckingham Palace and a great roar is reported when the Queen, at Temple Bar, held her son's hand aloft and kisses it.

In his study of the planning of the Golden Jubilee in 1887, Jeffrey Lant notes that the later Diamond Jubilee was a far more skillfully planned event than the one that he analyses.³⁵ He suggests that experience, a stable government, and a brimming treasury all contributed to a well organised celebration in 1897. Neither Lant nor anyone else, however, has clearly demonstrated that there is necessarily a correlation between good planning and the success of such ceremonial events. Indeed, it was a disorganised but very popular 1887 Jubilee that provided the impetus for what would take place in 1897.³⁶ Moreover, while the planners of the Diamond Jubilee were competent they were never really innovators. Instead, the men most responsible for planning the Diamond Jubilee had to negotiate and appease political interests, satisfy the Queen, and protect the sensibilities of both foreign and local dignitaries, all the while staying within the perceived dictates of tradition and avoiding controversy. Sir Spencer Posonby-Fane, who as Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Office, was responsible for much of the detail of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, is a case in point. He had served in his position since 1857, and was described in *Vanity Fair* as the:

... permanent authority on whom all Lords Chamberlain have relied, and the depository of ceremonial traditions to whom all men and women have referred for the settlement of momentous questions involved in the etiquette of Royal presence.³⁷

³⁵ J.L. Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, pp. 215-246.

³⁶ TNA: PRO LC 2/137. Besides the security concerns already mentioned, the 1897 Committee detailed street cleaning, billeting, ticketing, policing and the expense incurred by the monarch herself as aspects of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations that needed to be rectified if the event was to run more smoothly, have the monarch's full support, and in the end be a bigger and better spectacle than 1887. Minutes from the Planning Committee, 24 February 1897. See also: J.L. Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, pp. 215-246.

³⁷ *Vanity Fair*, 18 March 1897, p.18. For an interesting analysis of the role in the Golden Jubilee of Sir Spencer Posonby-Fane see: J.L. Lant, *Insustantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, pp. 59-63.

With few exceptions the committee concentrated on the successful execution of elements of royal and state ceremonial which, by the 1890s, were well entrenched: a procession of home troops, foreign dignitaries, and royals, and a religious service.³⁸ Necessity, as we have already seen, had forced some innovation upon the planners. The holding of the service outside of St Paul's was a solution to the problem posed by Victoria's insistence that she could not leave her carriage.

The most significant innovation came from outside the committee. It was the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, who saw in the Diamond Jubilee an opportunity to promote interest in the empire and his vision of an imperial economic union. Chamberlain wanted to use the event to promote closer economic relations with the self-governing colonies. He was also intent upon promoting interest in the empire among the home population of Britain.³⁹ In the context of greater international competition, Chamberlain was motivated, in the words of one biographer, by a belief that... 'the empire might be indispensable if Britain wished to maintain its strength abroad and contentment at home.'⁴⁰ To Chamberlain the Diamond Jubilee was the ideal opportunity to promote that big idea of a New Imperialism. In a memorandum circulated in early January he pointed out that... 'there has never been in English History any representation of the empire as a whole, and the colonies especially have, hitherto, taken little part in any ceremony of the kind.' To involve them in the Diamond Jubilee, he suggested, would 'call attention, in a way impressive to Englishmen and to foreigners, to the extent of Her Majesty's Empire and the loyalty of the populations who are Her Majesty's subjects.'⁴¹ Chamberlain proposed inviting the Premiers and Prime Ministers of the self-governing colonies to attend as well as their

³⁸ L. Colley, 'The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820,' *Past and Present*, 102, February, 1984, pp. 94-129.

³⁹ *Morning Post*, 12 June 1897, p.2. See also his speech at Birmingham Town Hall in March 1888 quoted in: *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 29 March 1888, p. 6

⁴⁰ P. Marsh, *Joseph Chamberlain: Entrepreneur in Politics*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994, pp. 407-8.

⁴¹ TNA: PRO CO 323/421. Memo, Circulated to Colonial Office Departments. General Correspondence, 14 January 1897.

representative troops as guests of the government. He would also take advantage of the attendance of all the Colonial Premiers and Prime Ministers in the one place at the one time to hold informal talks on 'many subjects of the greatest interest to the empire.'⁴² The surprising thing is that this innovation did not result from years of planning and a grinding imperial agenda. It resulted by chance and because Joseph Chamberlain saw an opportunity and milked it for all it was worth. (See the next section, Part 3, where this is discussed in detail.)

The attendance of the Colonial Premiers and Prime Ministers was also a godsend to Victoria who had made it clear that she would not allow any other crowned heads to attend.⁴³ This ban was made on the grounds of Victoria's advanced age of 77 and the amount of attention she would have to give her regal guests. Conveniently, the ban would also save the massive cost of entertaining those regal guests that had cost the Queen so dearly in 1887.

However, and possibly even higher on the agenda, it also meant that she could block the attendance of her eldest grandson the Emperor William of Germany who had already begun to make inquiries about the date of his grandmother's Jubilee in the autumn of 1896. Personal opinion within the court was hostile to him because of his perceived arrogance and public opinion in the English press was hostile to him because of his indiscreet telegram of congratulation earlier in the year to President Krueger of the Transvaal on his success in dealing with the botched Jameson Raid. All this coming on top of a general souring of relations with Germany because of continuing colonial confrontations and growing economic competition.⁴⁴

⁴² TNA: PRO CO 323/421. Memo on funding, Chamberlain to Edward Hamilton.

⁴³ J.L. Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, pp. 216.

⁴⁴ R. Waite, *Kaiser and Fuhrer: A Comparative Study of Personality and Politics*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1998, p. 152.

The Queen's decision was received very badly in Berlin, and not much better by official London. The Queen's eldest daughter, the Dowager Empress Frederick, weighed in and lobbied both her brother, the Prince of Wales, and her mother, to allow the Emperor to attend. As soon as she started her push, the Prince of Wales directed his private secretary, Sir Francis Knollys, to write to Bigge in order to reinforce his mother's resistance, and to push back with even greater force. On 29 January Knollys warned that, if he were to attend, the Emperor: '...would arrive with an enormous suite & would try & arrange things himself and endless trouble would arise. HRH is certain the Queen will regret it if she gives way ...'⁴⁵

Quite aware of how obnoxious William had made himself during past visits, Victoria did not need much persuading. On 30 January she told her private secretary to inform the Prince of Wales 'there is not the slightest fear of the Queen's giving way abt the Emperor William's coming. It wd not do for many reasons & the Queen is surprised that the Empress wd urge it.'⁴⁶

When the decision was finally passed on to the Cabinet many political feathers began to fly. Those who wished to take advantage of the Diamond Jubilee to demonstrate that Britain's 'splendid isolation' was only a phrase, were quite willing to suffer the German Kaiser in order to bring all the other available monarchs to London. As Lord Salisbury, both Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, stated on 31 January, the current Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks Beach and his Liberal predecessor, Sir William Harcourt, 'had agreed that they would pay without stint for big Royalties and the reception of them. They were therefore much grieved at the announcement of "no crowned

⁴⁵ TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18. Letter from the Queen's Private Secretary to Sir Arthur Bigge, 29 January 1897.

⁴⁶ TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18, Letter from the Queen's Private Secretary to the Prince of Wales, 30 January 1897.

heads"... and weep over them."⁴⁷ Princes and Princesses would be invited, but other Kings, Queens, Emperors and Empresses would not. Since his pet idea had been vetoed, Hicks Beach became intransigent, angry that instead of sovereigns 'the usual mob of impecunious princelets', as he called them, would be descending upon the country. When Hamilton approached him at the beginning of February, the Chancellor 'declined' to provide funds for the entertainment of children in London and refused to commit himself to the cost of entertaining naval officers. 'At present,' Sir Edward wrote, 'he is not very open handedly minded, though money would flow even from him like water, if the Crowned Heads were to come.' The Crowned Heads did not come, and from this unseemly combination of political machinations, royal penny pinching, family squabbles and bruised egos, came Chamberlain's chance.⁴⁸

The Colonial Office now had its chance, and carefully considered all the details of the procession. A memorandum prepared for Chamberlain makes it clear that they desired to make the procession as representative and impressive as possible and provides insight into what was considered a good spectacle. The writer, for instance, identified a weakness regarding the Crown Colonies in that, with a few exceptions, there was a lack of 'any mounted force worth speaking of.' This was presumed a problem because 'mounted men are of course more effective than dismounted in a procession or spectacle.' On the positive side, the memo continues, 'Chinese police from Hong Kong, Cyprus Zaptiehs would look very picturesque' but cautioned that they will be costly to transport. Money could be saved, the memo's author proposed, by 'resorting to the simple expedient ... of dressing up Tommies to represent the various forces' as had been done the previous year in the 'Sons of the Empire Pageant.' While this alternative would do 'well enough for a mere show' he concluded that there would be 'an absence of reality about it that would hardly be in

⁴⁷ TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18. Letter from the Queen's Private Secretary to Sir Spencer Posonby-Fane, 5 February 1897.

⁴⁸ TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/16. Home Office Minutes & Correspondence January & February 1897.

keeping with the importance of the occasion.⁴⁹ In the end, the infantry was included and, despite the expense, troops were brought from Cyprus and Hong Kong, as well as every other British possession.

India was not included in Chamberlain's proposal. This reflected the Colonial Secretary's lack of interest in the Sub-Continent and even more importantly the way in which India was separated administratively and conceptually from the rest of the empire. An issue that would rear its head again many years later in the construction of the Victoria Memorial in London, a subject that will be dealt with in the final chapter of this thesis. The decision of whether to include Indians in any role in the Diamond Jubilee fell not to the Colonial Office but to the India Office. There, the idea of inviting Indian Princes, a proposal the Queen favoured, was met with chagrin. For various reasons, the India Office squelched this proposal. To satisfy Victoria's wish for some Indian participants, a number of officers from the Imperial Service Corps were invited to serve as personal escort to the Queen.

The colonial contingents featured prominently in the media coverage of the day, and became central to how the Diamond Jubilee would be interpreted and remembered. From the Colonial and Home Office's point of view the attendance of the colonial troops served to improve both relations with the colonies and the image of the empire at home. Yet for those in charge of the Diamond Jubilee the colonials were not central figures. Although it was approved as part of the Diamond Jubilee day celebrations, the colonial component was, to a considerable extent, kept separate from other arrangements. The Diamond Jubilee Committee conceived of the parade of colonial troops and Premiers and Prime Ministers as its own procession, distinct from that of the Queen, her children and her children's children, along with a number of foreign dignitaries.⁵⁰ It was left to the Colonial Office and

⁴⁹ TNA: PRO CO 323/421. General Correspondence, 'Diamond Jubilee 1897', Memorandum for Chamberlain, the author's signature is illegible, 18 January 1897.

⁵⁰ TNA: PRO CO 323/421. Memo from Chamberlain to John Bramston, 23 January 1897.

not the Diamond Jubilee Committee to sort out the logistics of who should attend.⁵¹ In addition, the Colonial Office had to argue strenuously to secure what it considered to be an appropriate number of seats. Most of the efforts of the Lord Chamberlain's office were taken up with allotting seats to British groups, housing non-colonial foreign visitors, and establishing the order of precedence for visiting non-colonial dignitaries.⁵² European dignitaries were the central concern of the government as well. There was an influential group in 'official' London that was still very disappointed at the Queen's decision to stop crowned heads from attending.⁵³ They saw the Diamond Jubilee not just as a domestic celebration but as an important opportunity to strengthen diplomatic relations in Europe, to display national strength to their European rivals, and to assert Britain's place in the international community.

Yet despite the committee's and the Government's focus at times being elsewhere, the Diamond Jubilee would be interpreted largely as an imperial as well as a royal event. While the civil servants who orchestrated the official events were forced into innovation, we will see in a later section of this thesis that the opposite was true of entrepreneurs who made the best of every new commercial opportunity during this anniversary of Victoria's reign.

1897, then, saw the birth of a new kind of royal public ceremonial and on a scale never attempted before. In the past many royal celebrations had been small scale and almost private affairs in London, but the Diamond Jubilee was characterised by enormous public support and participation that flowed out from the centre and became empire-wide. This was something new, a central event and then a collection of peripheral events that great

⁵¹ TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/16. Sessional Papers 1897, London: House of Commons, Vol. LIX, pp. 621-629.

⁵² TNA: PRO LC 2/137. First Minutes Book of Diamond Jubilee Committee, 2 February 1897.

⁵³ NUA 4/1/1. Minutes of the National Union Executive Committee, 16 April 1897, Apr.1897-July 1911. Conservative Party Archive: National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

numbers across Britain and the empire attended publicly.⁵⁴ David Cannadine, has argued that it was only from the 1870s onward that the British learned how to produce such royal ceremonials. He details several factors which altered the context, hence the meaning, of state ceremonial in the period between 1870 and 1914. Cannadine's main point being that the declining 'actual' power of the monarch made it easier for Victoria to be celebrated as a 'symbol' above politics.⁵⁵ Although there is a lot to be said for this view, recent research has revealed that Victoria moved from overt to covert use of her royal power during the later period of her reign, rather than giving it up.⁵⁶ However, public perception is the key to Cannadine's argument and the perception that the Queen had suffered a sharp decline in her powers was certainly present.

The scale of the Diamond Jubilee reflected a new confidence on the part of the state in its own power and in the popularity of 'power' ceremonial and spectacle. But, to invoke the oft-used phrase, it was an 'invention of tradition' that also reflected a new relationship between public ceremony and the emerging consumer culture of Britain and the empire in the 1890s.⁵⁷ In the period before Victoria's reign, ceremonial on the scale of the Diamond Jubilee did not exist.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ T. Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian and Edwardian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1990, pp. 73-118.

⁵⁵ D. Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c. 1820-1977,' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 43-101.

⁵⁶ J. Van Der Kiste, *Sons, Servants and Statesmen: The Men in Queen Victoria's Life*, The History Press, 2006, Gloucestershire, pp. 11-15.

⁵⁷ W.M. Kuhn, Centennial of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, *Victorian Poetry*, Vol. 25, No. 3/4, West Virginia Press, Morgantown, 1987, pp. 107-114. See also: D. Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance,' 1983, pp. 43-101.

⁵⁸ Between the 1887 Jubilee and even past Victoria's death in 1901 it was argued that ceremonial on a grand scale was impossible because of the lack of imperial spaces in London. It was an on going topic in architectural and building periodicals like *Academy Architecture*, *Architectural Review*, *British Architect* and *Civil Engineer* and *Architect's Journal*. See also: R. Davey, *The Pageant of London*, 2 vols., Methuen, London, 1906, Ch. 3.

Monarchs prior to Victoria, holding a position more the head of society than the head of the nation, participated in royal rituals which were not so much celebrations for the masses than 'group rites' for the aristocracy, with the church and the royal family, aiming to re-affirm their solidarity within their group alone.⁵⁹ Using the 'language of anthropology,' Cannadine has argued that:

London-based displays in this early period did not articulate a coherent ceremonial language, as had been the case in Tudor and Stuart times, and as was to happen again towards the end of the nineteenth century. There was little self-conscious attempt by the promoters, participants or spectators to see them as parts of a cumulative, interrelated ceremonial series. There was, as it were, no vocabulary of pageantry, no syntax of spectacle, no ritualistic idiom. The whole was not greater than the sum of its parts.⁶⁰

Alex Tyrrell, on the other hand, thinks that such ceremonials were much more important than they may at first have appeared. For Tyrrell, '...the early Victorian monarchy had been presented as a family, not as an individual, and the process of popularisation took on a new lease of life as the next generation came of age.' Even their mode of transport when on public display, he argues, was calculated as it moved from a 'railway age monarchy' to an 'intercontinental steamship monarchy.'⁶¹ Tyrrell's perspective lends support to the earlier work of Hobsbawm and Ranger on just how common it was for traditions to be invented,

⁵⁹ I. Hayden, *Symbol and Privilege: Ritual Context of British Royalty*, University Arizona Press, Tucson, 1988, pp. 101-109.

⁶⁰ D. Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c. 1820-1977,' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, p. 116.

⁶¹ A. Tyrrell & Y. Ward, "God Bless Her Little Majesty." The Popularising of Monarchy in the 1840s,' *National Identities*, Vol 2 No. 2, La Trobe University, Bundoora, 2000, p. 121. Also see: A. Tyrrell, 'The Queen's "Little Trip": The Royal Visit to Scotland in 1842,' *The Scottish Historical Review*, Volume LXXXII, 1: No. 213, 2003, pp. 47-73.

in the later half of Victoria's reign.⁶² The events planned for 1897 were part of a much wider phenomenon. The creation of traditions, according to Hobsbawm, was at this time enthusiastically practiced in many countries and for various purposes.⁶³

Hobsbawm goes on to state how dramatically transformed nineteenth century social groups, environments and social contexts, called for new devices, in the form of elaborate celebrations and forms of commemoration, to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to structure social relations. This was a period when the traditional forms of rule, social systems and political hierarchies were being challenged. New methods of ruling and of establishing bonds of loyalty were needed and in turn led to the invention of traditions in a more conscious and deliberate way, because it was 'largely undertaken by institutions with political purposes in mind.' The language of the ceremonial in the spring of 1897, quite clearly had definite 'political purposes in mind.'⁶⁴

However, always the realist, Hobsbawm warns those excessively influenced by the concept of 'manipulation from above' to think again:

Yet we may as well note immediately that conscious invention succeeded mainly in proportion to its success in broadcasting on a wavelength to which the public was ready to tune in. Official new public holidays, ceremonies, heroes or symbols, which commanded the growing armies of the state's employees and the growing captive

⁶² E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, p. 263.

⁶³ Many other historians, building on the work of Alex Tyrrell, have since broadened the boundaries of research into invented tradition: N. Masalha, *The Bible and Zionism: Invented Traditions, Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in Palestine-Israel*, Zed Books, London, 2007; S. Vlastos (ed.), *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998; M. Sievers, *The Highland Myth as an Invented Tradition of the 18th and 19th Century and its Significance for the Image of Scotland*, GRIN Verlag, Munich, 2007; M. Tomoko, *The Invention of World Religions*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2005.

⁶⁴ E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, p. 274. See also: C. Ingraham, *White Weddings: Romancing Heterosexuality in Popular Culture*, Taylor & Francis, New York, 1999, pp. 60–61, and T. Ranger, 'The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa,' in E.J. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 211–263.

public of schoolchildren, might still fail to mobilize the citizen volunteers if they lacked genuine popular resonance.⁶⁵

An important part of facilitating that popular resonance, I would contend, was the right setting for such ceremony. The City of London, the major physical context of the Diamond Jubilee, was *sui generis* and as such the perfect setting for a major British imperial celebration. The city of London played its part, helping to amplify the popular resonance of the time and then focus it back onto the monarch. Because London was the seat of an empire, formal royal and imperial markers were everywhere. Royal and imperial themes and messages saturated daily life in the capital. They were even present in informal settings like productions staged in London's theatres, music halls, and minstrel shows at the time and were the invisible partners in popular exhibitions and displays, especially at the Earl's Court Exhibition Grounds where the impresario Imre Kiralfy imported wild animals and colonised peoples presenting them first to royalty and aristocracy and only then to the general public in dramatic spectacles based upon Britain's triumphs in Africa and Asia. Royalty and imperialism also provided the subtext at public exhibitions of artefacts and in museums.⁶⁶

Royalist and imperialist sentiments were celebrated in history textbooks read by London schoolchildren and on London classroom timelines and maps. They could be discerned in the city's very architecture, in its public spaces, its buildings, shops, factories and offices. They suffused political discourse, even the discourse of London's anti-royalists and anti-imperialists.

⁶⁵ E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (ed.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, p. 264.

⁶⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 May 1897, pp. 1-2 & *Morning Post*, 20 May 1897, p.6. See also: A. McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Routledge, London 1995, p. 221.

In sum, in 1897 the city of London had an impact on the nature of the Diamond Jubilee spectacle. Power radiated from it along lines established by an ancient royal lineage and an imperial parliament, and formal tribute flowed into it from a hundred client states. This imparted a certain atmosphere to the city's built environment; ambience to its culture; tone to its politics and its ceremonies.⁶⁷ At the junction of Knightsbridge and Brompton Road, for example, there was a memorial to Field Marshall, Baron Strathnairn, conqueror of Syria and India, on bronze horse, with Indian helmet, cascading metal feathers. On the Thames Embankment, to take a better known example, was Cleopatra's Needle, an enormous obelisk, with two large sphinxes at its foot. The facade of the Colonial Office in Whitehall, was also decorated with representative human and animal figures of the five continents over which the British flag flew. And these were just a few of the physical reminders of Britain's imperial rule and her people's place in the world that saturated the city.⁶⁸ Such royal and imperial symbols were part of daily London life.

Victoria and her procession on 22 June 1897 would pass by the most striking collection of national and imperial symbols, at Trafalgar Square. Then, as now, at its centre was a massive column commemorating Lord Nelson. Over fifty metres high, surmounted by his five metre statue and set upon a square pedestal eleven metres tall, it is impressive to say the least. Each side of the pedestal pictures one of Nelson's famous victories. Four great black lions, symbolising English might, ring the memorial. In 1897 four additional statues stood in the square, one commemorating George IV, and the others - three imperial legends:

⁶⁷ 'London for the Londoners', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 27 January 1895, p.1 & *Graphic*, 5 April 1897, p. 20. See also: A. Briggs, 'London, the World City,' *Victorian Cities*, Penguin, London, 1990, Ch. 8.

⁶⁸ London had a population only a little bigger than Paris in 1800, at just under a million people. By 1897, London was the largest city in the world's history, and had a population of approximately six million people, more than twice as large as the population of Paris. For a more detailed list of imperial monuments from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see: H.P. Clune, *The Face of London*, Norwood Editions, London, 1978, p. 114.

Napier, who fought the Peninsular campaign with Wellington; Havelock, who put down the Indian Mutiny; and 'Chinese' Gordon, the martyr of Khartoum.⁶⁹

Monuments such as these, voiced and fixed the identity of the collective, codifying the values of their given time. However, Trafalgar Square does not hold the same meaning today as it did in 1897. Over time its meaning and form has shifted and evolved. Recent works by scholars such as Margaret Olin, Robert Nelson, Derek Gillman, Erika Doss, Mitchell Schwarzer, Paul Pickering and Robyn Westcott helps us broaden our understanding of just how monuments like these serve to represent and negotiate time.⁷⁰ Building upon this work, this thesis contributes to the debate as to why some monuments more than others gain a deep resonance, even if it is only temporary. As we will see in much detail later, statues of Queen Victoria are a unique case in point. Public art is exactly what the term describes, art for a mass audience, art that is designed to affect the collective not just the individual. Public art must by its nature have a big message and often this is done by copying big messages from the past.

Returning to Trafalgar Square then, it is not surprising that Trajan's Column in Rome provided the model for Wyatt's memorial to the Duke of York in Waterloo Place. Nor is it surprising that Railton chose a column in the temple of Mars the Avenger in the Forum of Augustus as his model for Nelson's Column.⁷¹ No public square, no park, was complete without its bronze salute to glorious British history, Royalty or empire and more often than

⁶⁹ *London Standard*, 24 August 1897, p. 6 & *Illustrated Police News*, 28 August 1897, p. 10. See also: H.P. Clune, *The Face of London*, 1978, p. 141.

⁷⁰ R. S. Nelson & M. Olin, *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2003. D. Gillman, *The Idea of Cultural Heritage*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010. P. Pickering, & R. Westcott, 'Monuments and Commemorations: A Consideration,' *Humanities Research*, Vol. 10 No. 2, 2003. See also: E. Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*, University Of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2010. I find Doss's work particularly interesting because of analysis of informal and transitory commemoration.

⁷¹ 'Trafalgar Day,' *Morning Post*, 22-October 1897, p.5, 'Trafalgar Day,' *London Daily News*, 22 October 1897, p.5 & 'Preparing for Trafalgar Day,' *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 October 1897, p.8. See also: R. Mace, *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire*, Lawrence And Wishart Ltd; 2nd edition, London, 2005, p.16.

not it was based on the Roman imperial model.⁷² Public art combined with royal and imperial architecture and in combination reflected and reinforced an impression, an atmosphere, celebrating British heroism on the battlefield, British sovereignty over home and foreign lands, British wealth and power, in short, British royalty and imperialism, hand in hand. What better setting than the streets of London could there have been for the Diamond Jubilee parade?

To date, very little scholarship has been focused on the conjunction of the royal and the imperial, much more having been written on imperialism's impact upon the world rather than on its impact upon Britain. The economist John Hobson was concerned with the growth of British jingoism, and Lenin, borrowing from Hobson, Marx and Engels, argued that imperialist profits paid the bribe which induced British labour aristocrats, including London's artisans, to ignore their own class interest and support their royal oppressors. John MacKenzie, in more recent years, has argued that from the 1880s until the Second World War British citizens were subjected to a continual barrage of imperialist propaganda, overt and covert, which helped to produce a general acceptance, even celebration, of empire and royalty in conjunction.⁷³ The year of the Diamond Jubilee saw an intersection of British royalty, London urban life and British imperialism at one special moment, when all were at their zenith. The royal and imperial messages pervaded everyday life in an interactive process which defined what it meant in 1897 for London to be the world's imperial metropolis, for Victoria to be a middle-class Empress and the Victorian public to be masters of their rapidly shrinking world.

⁷² 'Nelson on the Stage,' *London Daily News*, 14 January 1897, p.3, See also: S. Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1983, p.232.

⁷³ For a deeper discussion of colonial perspectives and bringing Britain back into the imperial story and analysis of the 'new' imperial history, including how it should probably now be approached in terms of histories rather than history, see: J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, Chicago: University of Michigan Press; New Ed edition, 1965; V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage Of Capitalism, A Popular Outline*, Progress Publishing, Moscow, 1963; J. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation Of British Public Opinion*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984.

In a circular way, royalty and imperialism were central to the city's character during the Diamond Jubilee year and in turn London helped convey the royal and imperial nature of the ceremonial occasion simply by being the perfect setting. It was apparent in its workplaces, its venues of entertainment, its physical geography, its skyline, and in the attitudes of Londoners too. Investors in stocks and bonds, bankers and financiers, men and women with commercial interests believed that urbanisation, royalty and imperialism combined spelled 'opportunity'.⁷⁴ London's meaning as the appropriate venue for Britain's biggest royal ceremonial occasions lay in the city's physical appearance, in the layout of streets and avenues, and in the buildings and public monuments which lined them.⁷⁵ It conveyed a sense of Britain's long royal role and its imperial world role, one that Londoners would, as if through a process of osmosis, come to understand and be proud of while simply crowding her already historic streets on Jubilee Day.⁷⁶ The imperial metropolis was itself a machine for making loyal royalist and imperialist citizens.

On the evening of 21st June 1897, at Buckingham Palace, Queen Victoria wrote in her diary:

... Drove, going at a fast pace to the Paddington Vestry platform, where an address was presented by the Vicar of Paddington. Then we proceeded at a slow trot, with a Sovereign's escort of the 1st Life Guards. Passed through dense crowds, who gave me a most enthusiastic reception. It was like a triumphal entry. We passed down Cambridge Terrace, under a lovely arch, bearing the motto, 'Our hearts thy

⁷⁴ *Morning Post*, 14 November 1896, pp. 4-5 & S. Patterson, *The Cult of Imperial Honor in British India*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009, pp. 38-44.

⁷⁵ London was in constant change during this period. As early as the 1820s William Cobbett had referred to it as the 'Great Wen.' See also: J. White, *London In The Nineteenth Century: 'A Human Awful Wonder of God,'* Vintage, London, 2008 & P. Whitfield, *London: A Life in Maps*, British Library Publishing, London, 2006. Among many others on this topic.

⁷⁶ This opinion was expressed quite openly in a number of publications during the Jubilee year. A couple of good examples are: *Evening Telegraph*, 15 April 1897, p. 3, *London Daily News*, 29 June 1897, p. 5. See also: L. Nead, *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2005, pp. 1-12.

Throne.' The streets were beautifully decorated, also the balconies of the houses with flowers, flags, and draperies of every hue ...⁷⁷

The stage, as the main character was aware, had now been perfectly set. The royal and imperial metropolis as much as the officials and organizers both shaped the celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and would be shaped by it. Metropolitan Londoners and visitors were not merely passive receptors of the propaganda of the Jubilee. The event produced a complex interaction of reciprocal forces and processes. Things were now ready in the city which Jonathan Schneer christened 'the nexus of imperialism.'⁷⁸ The organization was done and there was no better physical and social setting for a rollicking good parade to celebrate Britain, Queen and empire.

⁷⁷ 'Diary entry, Diamond Jubilee: 21 June 1897, at Buckingham Palace,' *Queen Victoria*, C. Hibbert ed., *Queen Victoria in Her Letters and Journals*, Sutton Publishing, London, 2000, p. 76.

⁷⁸ J. Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2001, p. 37-63.

3. A Never-to-be-Forgotten Day

A never-to-be-forgotten day ... The head of the procession, including the Colonial troops, had unfortunately already passed the Palace before I got to breakfast, but there were still a great many, chiefly British, passing. I watched them for a little while.¹

So wrote Queen Victoria in her diary on the morning of 22 June 1897. She then went on later to describe how, from a small office within Buckingham Palace, she was able to communicate with millions of her subjects at a great distance from her home. It is a small detail that is often overlooked in accounts of the Jubilee, but there is a sub-text in this innocuous beginning to a day of unrestrained celebration that tells us much about the power of small things in spreading the messages that maintained an empire:

Before leaving I touched an electric button, by which I started a message which was telegraphed throughout the whole empire. It was the following: 'From my heart I thank my beloved people, May God bless them!'²

A symbolic act, yes, but also very practical. Almost instantaneously her message was spread across the world and read out at celebrations at the periphery, now made to feel physically at one with London and the vast crowd that had gathered at the centre of empire.

¹ Queen Victoria, Diary entry - Diamond Jubilee: 22 June 1897, at Buckingham Palace, in C. Hibbert (ed.), *Queen Victoria in Her Letters and Journals*, Sutton Publishing, London, 2000.

² Queen Victoria, Diary entry - Diamond Jubilee: 22 June 1897, at Buckingham Palace, in C. Hibbert (ed.), *Queen Victoria in Her Letters and Journals*, Sutton Publishing, London, 2000. Most newspapers made much of the use of technology as an example of a shrinking world. The *London Daily News* pointed out in its Jubilee publication that this act was symbolic of an incredible change in the nature and speed of communication that had taken place during Victoria's reign. How it, in turn, had revolutionised news gathering, how wars were fought, how business was done, and how government worked. *London Daily News*, 27 June 1897, p. 7.

Victoria's diary goes on to document, in detail, one of the most momentous days in her life:

Trafalgar Square was very striking, and outside the National Gallery stands were erected for the House of Lords. The denseness of the crowds was immense, but the order maintained wonderful.³

With such a laconic style it is hard to detect in her words, what we know from many other sources, that all Britain's vigour and self-esteem was fused into an explosive emotional force on the streets of London that day. The *Morning Post*, for example, observed - 'Whatever the interest at other points on the line of route, no one who had a ticket for one of the reserved stands on Constitution Hill or in the forecourt of Buckingham Palace would have exchanged his position for the world.'⁴

The crowd, estimated at between two and a half and three million people, was ready to be carried away not only by their enthusiasm for Queen Victoria but also with the New Imperialism on public display with her and in her.⁵ It would be a day of dazzle and show, heightened responses, a quickening of pulses, splashes of the bizarre, over stimulation, a strange sense of history being made, excitement, and high melodrama.

An empire and an Empress were on public display. Giant banners, contrasting with small fluttering handkerchiefs formed an allegory in motion. 'Soldiers of the Queen' boomed up the Strand. (Figure 9.) 'Three Cheers for India' called someone in the crush and the crowd roared back three time at the end of Fleet Street. There was loud, echoing applause for the theatrically dazzling uniform of Sir Partab Singh. There was the rippling of black and

³ Queen Victoria, Diary entry - Diamond Jubilee: 22 June 1897, at Buckingham Palace, in C. Hibbert (ed.), *Queen Victoria in Her Letters and Journals*, Sutton Publishing, London, 2000.

⁴ *Morning Post*, 23 June 1897, p. 5.

⁵ *Graphic*, 28 June 1897, p. 10 & *London Daily News*, 25 June 1897, p. 5.

white from the massed clergy outside St Paul's Cathedral and polite applause from the massed hierarchy of Civil Servants on Constitution Hill. Children were everywhere, some trying to catch a glimpse of the heroes of Balaclava in a window on Ludgate, others held aloft on their father's shoulders to watch the parade. Their cheers joined with millions of others that rolled through central London and mixed with the drums, the echoing drums that seemed to be coming from everywhere. There was the singing, the Empress, the guns booming, the bells chiming and yet another huge banner in St James' in English and Hindi which put into words what all could see come to life in front of their eyes, in giant letters that stated for all the world to see that Victoria alone was the 'Queen of Earthly Queens.' Thousands of Union Jacks, on towers, in windows, were waved furiously by thousands of hands. As the procession passed, people cheered for their favourite figures but the loudest - of course - was for the Queen.⁶ Samuel Clemens wrote that when Victoria passed 'all the world was on its feet and uncovered.'⁷



Figure 9. '1897 Queen Diamond Jubilee Parade,' *Illustrated London News*, 1897.

⁶ The centrality of affection for the Queen juxtaposed with symbols of Britain and Empire was an almost universal feature of coverage of the event. *Daily Mail*, 23 June 1897, p. 3 & *The Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 2.

⁷ S. Clemens, *Queen Victoria's Jubilee*, privately published, 1897, p. 20.

At the centre of the serried ranks, escorted by plumed guards, the Queen completed the effect perfectly, seeming to simply regard events around her with a remote patrician calm.⁸ Dressed in no long robes of state but instead a simple black satin dress, she was very human in the public eye but somehow still charismatic. As she sat in her carriage as it slowly travelled through the streets of London she had what Weber defined as the 'certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities.'⁹ Weber's definition also helps us to bring the Diamond Jubilee as catalyst for Victoria's unlikely charisma into sharper focus. He never restricted his definition of charisma, as we often do today, to simply the glamour of a single personality. Victoria, the charismatic figure, was a cultural focal point in Victorian Britain around which ideologies, in this case nationalist, imperialist and middle-class, were symbolically defined and legitimated. Weber emphasised that a charismatic figure, such as a well loved monarch like Victoria, could serve other functions as well. Sociologists have called attention to another dimension in Weber's concept of charisma by stressing, as Clifford Geertz does, 'the connection between the symbolic value individuals possess and their relation to the active centres of the social order.' These centres consist 'in the point or points in a society where its leading ideas come together with its leading institutions to create an arena in which the events that most vitally affect its members' lives take place.'¹⁰ In light of this conception, Queen Victoria did not have to be physically beautiful or visually charismatic sitting in that carriage on Jubilee Day to exercise acquired charisma. In other words, during the year of the Diamond Jubilee, she was a semiotic lodestone for events that occurred around her and that conferred a very high level of charisma on her.

⁸ *Western Mail*, 23 June 1897, p. 9; *London Daily News*, 23 June 1897, p.9 & *London Standard*, 23 June 1897, p. 2. See also: G. Gissing, *In the Year of Jubilee*, Kessinger, White Fish, 2004, p. 46. C. Chapman & P. Raben, eds., *Debrett's Queen Victoria's Jubilees 1887 & 1897*, Debrett's Peerage, London, 1978, pp. 12-17.

⁹ S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1968, p. 48.

¹⁰ C. Geertz, 'Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power,' *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*, Basic Books, New York 1985, p. 122.

None of this, of course, was obvious to Victoria herself. By reading her diary entries on 22 June 1897 and the newspaper accounts of the day it soon becomes obvious how much she was loved and esteemed. After doing so it is hard to believe that only a generation before, when British people talked of royalty and empire in the same conversation it was usually negatively and in regard to Napoleon III of France, the Czar in Russia, and despots in general. Now they talked of Victoria, Regina et Imperatrix, with very few exceptions, only in glowing terms. The British Empire may have been a bit more problematic but the consensus was that the ends had justified the means there too. A popular historical writer of her time may best represent the feelings that prevailed. Henrietta Marshall, while proud of the British Empire, of which the Queen was head, was also aware of the underside of such a system: 'The stories are not always bright,' she concluded. 'How could they be? We have made mistakes, we have been checked here, we have stumbled there. We may own it without shame, perhaps almost without sorrow, and still love our empire and its builders'. Since the Golden Jubilee in 1887 Britain had acquired new territories fifty times as large as Britain itself. 'Light had burst upon the British people,' said Sir West Ridgeway, the Governor of Ceylon, in his Jubilee speech. 'It dispelled the darkness of ignorance, the scales fell from their eyes, the sordid mists which obscured their view were driven away, and they saw for the first time before them, the bright realm of a glorious empire.'¹¹

The empire on 22 June was no longer a concept, it had come to London and could be seen in impressive columns stretching through the streets leading to St Paul's Cathedral where according to *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*: 'The Western approach of the cathedral had been transformed into a vast amphitheatre, garlanded with flowers and draped in cloth of red, windows and roofs forming tiers that were thronged to the last inch with spectators.' The Queen also found the scene in front of the Cathedral impressive:

¹¹ Quoted in: G. Fremont-Barnes, *The Boer War 1899-1902*, Osprey, Oxford, 2003, p.74.

Colonial troops, on foot, were drawn up round the Square. My carriage, surrounded by all the Royal Princes, was drawn up close to the steps, where the Clergy were assembled, the Bishops in rich copes, with their croziers, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London each holding a very fine one.¹²

The set piece of the day, performed in full view of the crowd, was brief but spectacular and filled with what was expected of the religious component of a royal anniversary:

A Te Deum was sung; the Lord's Prayer, most beautifully chanted, a special Jubilee prayer, and the benediction concluded the short service, preceded by the singing of the old 100th, in which everyone joined. God Save the Queen was also sung. I then spoke to the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. As I drove off, the former gave out, 'Three cheers for the Queen.'¹³

Admittedly, the minimalist nature of this ceremony came in for some criticism, but the correspondent for the *Morning Post* was even unimpressed with the location and concluded that: 'St. Paul's was as that of a son towards a mother, contrasted somewhat to the disadvantage of our Metropolitan Church the vast open area in which St. Peter's at Rome stands.' However, this was an exceptional opinion. Circumstances, memories, and currents of thought, all worked upon the British public on 22 June 1897 so that for many this ceremonial grand flourish of royalty and the New Imperialism properly represented the concentrated emotion of a generation. 'Imperialism in the air,' Beatrice Webb recorded in her diary that June, 'all classes drunk with sightseeing and hysterical loyalty.'¹⁴

¹² *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 27 June 1897, p.7. Queen Victoria, Diary entry - Diamond Jubilee: 22 June 1897, at Buckingham Palace, in C. Hibbert, *Queen Victoria. Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, Harper Collins, London, 2000, p. 124.

¹³ *Morning Post*, 23 June 1897, p. 5. Queen Victoria, Diary entry - Diamond Jubilee: 22 June 1897, at Buckingham Palace, in C. Hibbert, *Queen Victoria. Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, Harper Collins, London, 2000, p. 125.

¹⁴ Extract from Beatrice Webb's Diary entry for 22 June 1897, quoted in: B. Webb, *The Diary Of Beatrice Webb 1873-1943*, Chadwyck-Healey, Cambridge, 1978, p. 78.

Victoria's diary demonstrates that she was self-possessed enough to even pick up on some of the finer details along the route that others missed. It is notable, for instance, the number of times that she refers to the flowers given to her and those on display for her along the streets. The giving and receiving of flowers in Western culture, as well as many others, has a long history as a physical way of showing love and affection. There is a certain melancholy resonance in this because flower displays and wreaths would, in a few short years, also be an important feature of her massive funeral procession as it wound through the same streets. As well as flowers another major theme that runs through her commentary is 'the poor.' She shows in her coverage of the event that she is well aware of the socioeconomic divisions of the city and exactly where her poorer subjects live. In conjunction with references to the 'poor' she uses terms like 'enthusiasm' and 'orderly' as if she is looking at the event as a combination of grandmother and Head Mistress:

I stopped in front of the Mansion House, where the Lady Mayoress presented me with a beautiful silver basket full of orchids. Here I took leave of the Lord Mayor. Both he and the Lady Mayoress were quite émus. We proceeded over London Bridge, where no spectators were allowed, only troops, and then along the Borough Road, where there is a very poor population, but just as enthusiastic and orderly as elsewhere. The decorations there were very pretty, consisting chiefly of festoons of flowers on either side of the street...¹⁵

There was really no chance of disorder, the 50,000 troops that surrounded their diminutive Queen on Jubilee Day constituted the largest group of military personnel to ever assemble in London. As they made their way, in two separate columns, through the streets of the

¹⁵ The correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, however, did find a difference in the lower quality decorations in the poorer areas of East London. He felt that they could have made a greater effort considering the significance of the occasion and concluded by asking: 'Have they learnt nothing?' *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 June 1897, p. 11. Queen Victoria, Diary entry - Diamond Jubilee: 22 June 1897, at Buckingham Palace, in Queen Victoria, Diary entry - Diamond Jubilee: 22 June 1897, at Buckingham Palace, in C. Hibbert (ed.), *Queen Victoria in Her Letters and Journals*, Sutton Publishing, London, 2000.

imperial capital to St Paul's, the reporters of the London dailies found themselves totally under the spell of crown and empire. 'How many millions of years has the sun stood in heaven?' inquired the *Daily Mail*, 'But the sun never looked down until yesterday upon the embodiment of so much energy and power.' G. W. Steevens, was bordering on hyperbole when he wrote of 'a pageant which for splendour of appearance and especially for splendour of suggestion has never been paralleled in the history of the world.'¹⁶ 'History may be searched,' bellowed *The Times*, 'and searched in vain, to discover so wonderful an exhibition of allegiance and brotherhood amongst so many myriads of men The mightiest and most beneficial empire ever known in the annals of mankind.'¹⁷

The procession on 22 June was an immensely popular event. Photographs show the streets of London packed with onlookers.¹⁸ Luckiest were those, as we have already seen, who were able to afford tickets for admittance to the huge viewing stands.¹⁹ Others stood for hours on crowded footpaths or in parks along the route. The press advised those without tickets to 'Come Early,' not only because of the crowds expected but also because of confusion and congestion caused by traffic closures in the surrounding area. The *Telegraph* produced a special 'Sketch Map...to enable sightseers to...master the problem of moving

¹⁶ *Daily Mail*, 23 June 1897, p. 4. Description of the parade featured in all the newspapers on 23 June, see: *London Daily News*, 23 June 1897, p. 9 & *Morning Post*, 23 June 1897, pp. 5-8.

¹⁷ *The Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 2. Jan Morris provides a more objective description: 'One half of the procession was led by Captain Ames of the Horse Guards, at six foot eight inches the tallest man in the British Army, and looking more stupendous still wearing his high plumed helmet, swelled out with breastplate and cuirass, and astride his tall charger. The other half was led by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar, the most beloved of imperial generals, riding the grey Arab, Vonolel, which had conveyed him from Kabul to Kandahar in his victorious march of 1880. Not far behind Lieutenant Festing rode the Sudanese horse which had taken him to the capture of Bida in West Africa, and cheers of sympathy greeted the empty sleeve of the Honourable Maurice Gifford, wounded during a recent skirmish with the Matabele.' J. Morris, *Pax Britannica: The Climax of an Empire*, Faber & Faber, London, 1988, p. 30.

¹⁸ *Graphic*, *Black and White* & *Illustrated London News* editions on 23 June 1897, all carried half and full page photographs of the massive crowds along the route. The crowd scenes are also a prominent feature of the short film that was made by *British Pathe* of the event in 1897.

¹⁹ *Daily Mail*, 7 June 1897, p. 8. Not all such viewing platforms were the reserve of the wealthy either: 'A Jubilee stand will be erected by the Vestry to accommodate 500 persons opposite St.Martin's Church for the use of the workers connected with the various philanthropic movements in the parish.' *London Daily News*, 11 June 1897, p. 5.

from point to point.²⁰ Some affluent Londoners decided it was all too much, leaving the city instead to escape what they considered to be the possible dangers of a large crowd and the potential chaos 'if they turned.'²¹ The crowd did not turn.

Most newspaper and diary accounts suggest that the large crowds consisted of all levels of British society. Parliament, church, business, and military leaders were safely ensconced in their viewing stands, but on the pavements in the City, Southwark, and Lambeth, and in the open areas such as Green Park and Trafalgar Square, middle-class and working-class people stood shoulder to shoulder in the crush to watch the procession. Among these spectators were also quite a few street hawkers, and no doubt petty thieves as well.²² Steevens in the liberal leaning *Daily Mail* observed that:

...as if by an inspiration which ran down the lines of people, there burst out quite spontaneously, the grand old anthem of love and comradeship: 'For Auld Lang Syne' rose from a thousand throats in a chorus that overbore the brazen strains of the bands...cheers broke into screams and enthusiasm swelled into delirium.²³

The Tory *London Standard* shared the ebullience:

Whether one gazed up at the huge palatial pavilion erected Opposite the Horse Guards, in which beauty and fashion were conspicuously represented, or at the crowd below, it would have been difficult to differentiate the level of enthusiasm.²⁴

²⁰ *Telegraph*, 16 June 1897, p. 4. See also: *London Daily News*, 21 June 1897, p. 5.

²¹ A. C. Harmsworth, 'The Diamond Jubilee Celebrations', in H. Maxwell, *Sixty Years a Queen*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1897, p. 201.

²² *London Standard*, 23 June 1897, p.7; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 June 1897, p.1 & *The Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 7.

²³ *Daily Mail*, 23 June 1897, p. 1.

²⁴ *London Standard*, 23 June 1897, p. 2.

Jubilee Day, 22 June 1897 was not intended to be stylish. It was intended to be rousing and unashamedly 'loyal.' During the day it was the parade and the banners that carried the message, with slogans such as: 'God Bless our Sovereign,' 'One Race One Queen,' and 'Her Most Glorious Majesty's Grand and Glorious Innings 60 Not Out.' The daylight hours were all about sentiment, extravagance, indulgence, and tears. While the night was all about celebrating the technological wonders of Victoria's reign by simply walking the streets and viewing the lavish illuminations. Illuminations which both literally and metaphorically brought light where there had once been darkness. It was appropriate, according to *The Times*, that by far the most impressive building decorations and illuminations were those provided by the Bank of England. They stretched across the entire building from Princes Street to Bartholomew Lane and consisted of lines of crystal and amber lamps, 'falling along the lowest row into festoons looped tip with bows.' Over the entrance opposite the Royal Exchange was a crystal medallion with the monogram V. R. I. and two medallions with the dates 1837 and 1897. Two stars were also to the right and left. On the facade over the centre portico was a quotation, 'selected by the Governor of the Bank' from Tennyson's 'Ode to the Queen,' - 'She wrought her people lasting good,' - the letters being formed in amber crystal on a ground work of iridescent green embellished with gold. Above the words was a crystal crown. Above this again, were window panels also outlined with crystal lamps, festoons of which looped up with ruby bows. The illuminations in the central part of the building also included a painting 'executed for Messrs. Defries - who carried out the work at the Bank - by Prof. Legros.' The painting was allegorical and featured the figure of Britannia in a chariot drawn by two horses, with a child on either side holding shields also bearing the dates 1837 and 1897. Along the parapet were four 'glory stars' with crystal and amber points and at each corner was a large cut crystal ornament in the form known as 'Grecian honeysuckle,' the lines being marked out in deep ruby and the scroll finished with amber.²⁵ Obviously, no expense had been spared.

²⁵ *The Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 4. For further descriptions of the Diamond Jubilee decorations see: London *Daily News*, 26 June 1897, p. 7; *Graphic*, 26 June 1897, pp. 20-21 & *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 2.

The activities and attractions might not have had sophistication and style (in today's terms they might even be considered kitsch) but the accounts that we have give evidence that the Jubilee was seen as one of the great events of their lives by those who participated. The parade, the short Service at St Paul's, and then the city illuminations were the obvious core events of the Diamond Jubilee, but there were also many other lesser events taking place on or around 22 June 1897 that equally filled people's memories. Presentations, unveilings, mass banquets, special sports days, massed school displays, were taking place across the United Kingdom. All of them designed to associate the Victorian institutions that organised them, and the local businesses that contributed to them, with the Queen and all she stood for. Children's events were conducted by school boards and councils, and followed a formula that saw games followed by each child receiving some party food and a cheap Jubilee souvenir presented courtesy of a commercial enterprise, with the sponsor's name prominently displayed.²⁶ At the same time charity groups were hosting dinners for the poor:

Seven hundred were fed in Central Hall, Holborn; 400 at Clerkenwell road; 1,000 at Northampton Institute; 1,000 at St. Martin's Town Hall; 1,000 at Assembly Hall, Mile End road; 6,000 were feasted at dinners held in Spitalfields; 10,000 in the mission and parish schools of Islington; 600 indigent blind at Surrey Chapel, Blackfriars road. In West Ham, the rule was varied, and, instead of a dinner 10,000 were each given a half crown, which bought bread, meat and vegetables that the recipients were able to take home and share with their families.²⁷

The House of Lords, too, played its usual official role just as it always had in the past but the events sponsored by the much newer Victorian bureaucracies of education,

²⁶ *London Daily News*, 24 June 1897, pp. 5-6; *London Standard*, 25 June 1897, p. 4 & *Illustrated London News*, 2 July, 1897: p. 863.

²⁷ M. Krout, *A Looker-On in London*, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1899, Ch.25, p. 322.

philanthropy, sport, and commerce were far more numerous and spread far wider the message of the Diamond Jubilee than had ever been done with any royal event in the past. This collection of events helped turn the Diamond Jubilee into an enormous celebration with far more significance simply because of its sheer size and opening the way for many more participants to physically take part in the celebrations in one way or another. The more recent the institution, the more involved in the celebration of the Jubilee it seemed to be.²⁸

When you combine all these official and semi-official activities with the commercial activities going on at the same time it can be seen just how the official worked in conjunction with the private to saturate the public with images and messages about Victoria's importance. The backwash from this multi-level exploitation of the event: so many pictures, cartoons, photographs and references to the Queen, conferred on Victoria an exponential jump in her already high level of charisma. The grand parade and set pieces were spectacular occasions that had their effect, but added to this was also the everyday, small scale, cumulative and subtle aggregation of references to, and images of, Victoria in people's everyday lives. A magazine article would provide a glimpse into the Queen's private life here; and a tea canister would draw on her coronation portraits there, newspaper by newspaper, image by image, day by day, she became more and more a feature of everyone's daily life.²⁹

The newspapers of 1897 were full of reports, lists, maps, diagrams and articles about Victoria and the Jubilee. With few exceptions, the press joined in the chorus of hyperbolic praise for the Jubilee, helping shape the event still further. *The Times* was typical, summing up the day as 'perfect in itself' and describing the procession's 'unexampled progress through the greatest city in the world.' In short, the paper continued, the Diamond Jubilee

²⁸ *London Standard*, 24 March 1897, p.2 & *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 June 1897, p. 3.

²⁹ J. Larwood & J. C. Hotten, *The History of Signboards from the Earliest Time to the Present Day*, 1900, pp. 81-83.

was 'of wonderful splendour and variety, and not to be matched by any of which history holds the record.'³⁰ The *London Standard* saw it as 'simply magnificent' while the *London Daily News*, blissfully unaware of what had gone on in the Planning Committee, saw it as 'a celebration as glorious in its fulfilment as in its conception.'³¹

This kind of coverage had been impossible at the time of Victoria's coronation in 1837. Since then the proliferation of cheap newspapers and their widening coverage of events especially in Victoria's later years cannot be over estimated. It transformed the news coverage and editorial championing that she received and contributed enormously to the creation of her celebrity. John Plunkett's book, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* helps put the media coverage of the Diamond Jubilee in context. He shows how an ad hoc, amateur print media industry developed into professional newspapers and news journalism that promoted, what they saw as, the positives of royalty in general and the splendour of Queen Victoria in particular. His book argues that the media required an interesting and regular source of material through which to promote its own importance, that Queen Victoria and her family provided it, and that the monarchy similarly depended on the media to become both populist and constitutional.³² However there is one area of his analysis which I find problematic, Plunkett portrays Victoria as the hapless toy of the media. I do not believe that the evidence supports this view. Victoria's endless materialization in word and image may have constituted the monarchy for many of her subjects, an image partially constructed in the public mind by a daily practice of reading about her in the newspapers but there is not adequate evidence provided for the claim that a purely media monarch was constructed without her agency. Plunkett states that: 'The number of contradictory portrayals demonstrates that the royal family was far from having any self-fashioned representation.' Further, he argues that there was a one-directional causal relation between

³⁰ *The Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 9.

³¹ *London Daily News*, 24 June 1897, p. 5 & *London Standard*, 24 June 1897, p. 5.

³² J. Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, pp. 5-9.

an active press and a passive royalty and that: 'Rather than events producing a spate of prints, the illustrated press had itself to produce a constant series of events.'³³

This claim is plausible only by ignoring the kinds of evidence that we have for Victoria's own agency in the construction of the Diamond Jubilee and the devising of its ceremonies.³⁴ There is little consideration of the public images that Victoria personally commissioned or selected, such as her Diamond Jubilee photographic portraits in which she took an obsessive censorial interest. I agree with Plunkett when he says that... 'it was not that Victoria's image was disseminated through photographs. The royal image itself became photographic.'³⁵ But to insist that these royal images became photographic without Victoria's agency seems far fetched. Logic tells us that Queen Victoria must have chose to pose and not to pose; and no doubt as her age increased and health deteriorated at times - as she did with the ceremony at St Paul's on Jubilee day - chosen just how and when she would pose for particular photographs and photographers. Furthermore, in arguing for the media as the unique cause of developments in the monarchy at this crucial time, I feel that Plunkett underrates the power of the British public. The newspapers and magazines in 1897 may have driven the craze for Victoria's Diamond Jubilee images but it cannot have determined which images would be avidly collected and which would not. In the end the media component was just one of many at play in the construction of Queen Victoria's image.

Queen Victoria's unprecedentedly public monarchy on display and reaching its crescendo in the year of the Diamond Jubilee was the product of an active collaboration between the Queen and her subjects, including those journalists and photographers who captured her and her ceremonials in words and images during 1897. The model of royal promotion

³³ J. Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, pp. 14-25.

³⁴ D. Thompson, *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power*, Virago, London, 2001, pp. 137-139. See also: J.L. Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, p. 43.

³⁵ J. Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, pp. 144-145.

through the media that we know all too well today was coming into operation. The publishers of newspapers and magazines directly used the Diamond Jubilee to sell their publications and their advertising space and in turn were indirectly used by royalty to promote themselves by managing much of the content that was made available. All papers in 1897, even those of divergent political opinion, notably *Reynolds's News*, included coverage about the events and the Queen.³⁶ Special numbers from all the major London newspapers (except *Reynolds's News*) were filled with enormous amounts of royal trivia, hagiographies of Victoria, coloured prints to frame, and detailed illustrations and diagrams of the parade. A 'record number of a record reign' boasted the *Illustrated London News* about their 'veritable edition deluxe.'³⁷ The *Daily Mail's* Special Number was printed with a special 'regal' gold ink. All the pictorials claimed that their issue alone was the best and the 'most complete'.³⁸

It was in its own interests for the British press to promote the Diamond Jubilee. They provided a lengthy coverage and regular column inches that built up over the months preceding the main events, into page after page by the week of the parade. Journalists had nothing but praise for all things royal, British and Imperial and nothing but superlatives for Victoria herself. Terms like 'unparalleled,' 'unexampled,' 'unique' peppered descriptions of the parade in *The Times*.³⁹ While *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* filled their copy with others like: 'spectacle,' 'glory,' 'pageant,' and 'pomp.'⁴⁰ There were suitable photographs and allegorical illustrations to reinforce the copy. The *Daily Mail* claimed to have the largest picture.⁴¹ The

³⁶ *Reynolds's News*, 23 May 1897 & 12, 20, 22, 23 June 1897.

³⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 9 June 1897, p. 814. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 June 1897, was a 'Special Edition,' but not to be out done the *Portsmouth Evening News*, 21 June 1897, had been produced as an 'Extra Special Edition.'

³⁸ *Daily Mail*, 21 June 1897, p.1. See also: A. C. Harmsworth, 'The Diamond Jubilee Celebrations', 1897, p. 238.

³⁹ *The Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 9.

⁴⁰ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 20 June 1897, p. 5.

⁴¹ *Daily Mail*, 23 June 1897, p. 1.

Illustrated London News, not surprisingly given its title, advertised the fact that they had 'more illustrations and of a better quality than any other publication in the empire.'⁴²

In short, the Diamond Jubilee was a bonanza for the major newspaper and magazine publishers in Britain. Equally, it was a windfall for those who thought it important for positive royal images to be put into the public arena. Whether it was equally a gold mine for the many small publishers and writers who produced small scale commemorative publications is another matter. Undoubtedly, not everyone was successful in such a crowded market place. Everything from cheaply bound collections of poems about Victoria, to very expensive limited run biographies, and everything imaginable in between, was for sale. Unofficial programs were sold on the street on the days immediately before the big parade and on 22 June itself, providing a means for participants to decode the elements of the parade and then after, to keep as a cheap collectible and thereby add significance to the simple act of spectating.⁴³

The new and rapidly developing market for cheap collectibles did not escape the notice of the Victorian advertising industry. There were now hundreds of different publications in which they could advertise and thousands of different images that they could use to sell collectibles. There were so many images associated with the Jubilee celebrations that leant themselves to advertising in 1897 but one image transcended all others, the figure of Queen Victoria herself.⁴⁴

The Queen's image was now prominent right across the advertising industry. In 1897 it appeared on the labels of products as diverse as Houbigant perfumes, Holloway's pills and

⁴² *Illustrated London News: Her Majesty's Glorious Diamond Jubilee*, June 1897.

⁴³ J.M. Wilce, 'Magical Laments and Anthropological Reflections: The Production and Circulation of Anthropological Text as Ritual Activity,' *Current Anthropology*, 2006, pp. 891–914. See also: L. Fogelin, 'The Archaeology of Religious Ritual,' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2007, pp. 55–71.

⁴⁴ D. Davis, *A History of Shopping*, Routledge, London, 2006, pp. 127–128.

powders, Sunlight soap, and Fry's cocoa. Most businesses at the time were run by entrepreneurs still too suspicious of one another to entrust their publicity to the emerging advertising agencies. So during the Jubilee summer when hundreds of advertisers independently flooded the market with many different forms of the image of Victoria, the result was striking but ad hoc. The image of Victoria was stamped upon what was a disorderly, far from integrated and only minimally regulated glut of competing posters, products and advertisements. Victoria's image was an even bigger winner than it had been in 1887, an image so prized and yet so familiar, that it could sell anything.

Victorians in major urban centres were bombarded with advertising messages for every product imaginable. In response to this clutter many large scale businesses attempted to establish brand recognition and primacy for their product in a crowded market place.⁴⁵ For British advertisers a royal warrant had been the most effective way of establishing brand credibility. This official use of association of products with royalty was, as the period went on, extended to a much larger unofficial use of royal associations and imagery in advertising.⁴⁶

Those companies with a Royal Warrant made great use of them in their advertising during the later years of Victoria's reign, and in 1897 in particular. Sunlight, with a product labeled 'Queen's Honey Soap' went beyond simply using the prestige of the warrant and the royal coat of arms to actually incorporate the royal title into the product name.⁴⁷ Other business, without a Warrant, simply implied royal favour or predilection for their products.

⁴⁵ G. Cook, *The Discourse of Advertising*, Routledge, London, 2006, pp. 219-221.

⁴⁶ *Graphic*, 2 October 1897, p.33, featured a full page advertisement for Borax, trumpeting their Royal Warrant; *Exeter Flying Post*, 2 December 1893, p.3, had a large Sunlight Soap advertisement doing the same. See also: L. Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994, pp. 85-86.

⁴⁷ *St. James Budget Diamond Jubilee Number*, June 1897, p.3 & *Graphic*, 23 October, 1897.

Fry's Cocoa, had a Royal Warrant and made the most of it in an advertisement that appeared in many newspapers and magazines during 1897. It is a far more formal work than most advertising at the time, making prominent use of a formal royal portrait of Queen Victoria and flags. The flags that appear are royal standards. The formality of layout is in keeping with the emphasis of the copy that Fry's Cocoa held a 'Special Royal Warrant to her Most Gracious Majesty.' This is further emphasised and expanded upon by the inclusion of the royal coat of arms and the letters V. R. & I.⁴⁸ The dates 1837 and 1897 are at the top of the advertisement and the words Diamond Jubilee displayed beneath the royal portrait, leaving the observer in no doubt that its dual purpose is to acknowledge the importance of a major imperial event while also promoting its own brand name and product and thus forming a mutually beneficial circle of meaning. The Fry's brand was enhanced by its Royal Warrant and its ability to directly associate its product with Queen Victoria and the Diamond Jubilee.⁴⁹

Yet another advertisement, this time for paint, from 1897 serves to illustrate how even companies without a Royal Warrant could also take advantage of the social and political context to associate themselves with Victoria and the Diamond Jubilee. At the top of the advertisement is a banner headline with the brand name 'Aspinall's Enamel' and next to it the key messages of the advertisement, that their paint surpasses all others and that consumers should avoid imitations.⁵⁰ Below the banner, the left hand side contains an official looking portrait of Queen Victoria with a background of two draped Union Jacks. Beneath the portrait is a double entendre 'The Finest Colors in the World' cheekily associating Aspinall's product with the British flag and all it stands for, in the consumer's mind. This crossover of ideas is furthered on the right hand side of the advertisement

⁴⁸ *Daily Mail*, 7 June 1897, p. 11; *Graphic*, 1 June 1897, p. 40; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 June 1897 & *Liverpool Mercury*, 17 December 1897, p. 9.

⁴⁹ *The Graphic & The Illustrated London News*, 22 June 1897 & 26 June 1897. See also: L. Loeb, *Consuming Angels*, 1994, p. 88.

⁵⁰ *Illustrated London News*, 22 June 1897 & 26 June 1897. Lead toxicity for children was noted in a medical journal in 1897 and it is interesting to see just how quickly Aspinall's has responded to the threat.

where there are before and after illustrations of paint. The top one is labeled 1837 and shows a dripping mess that contains lead and is poisonous. Below it is an 1897 neatly packaged tin of nonpoisonous paint. To reinforce the visual message we have the words 'Sixty Years of Evolution in Decorative Art.' So on three levels: through the inclusion of the portrait of Queen Victoria, the use of Union Jacks and finally by direct reference to sixty years of progress, Aspinall's products built gravitas by associating themselves with Victoria and the Diamond Jubilee. At the same time, through placement of their advertisement in numerous newspapers and magazines, on public transport, and on posters throughout Britain they in return added to the gravitas of the Queen, the anniversary of her sixty years on the throne and the festivities of the Diamond Jubilee.⁵¹

The most aggressive and innovative advertisers of the day were companies dependent on the imperial economic nexus, in tea, chocolate, soap and oils, tobacco, meat extracts, shipping and rubber. Even before the Diamond Jubilee they had been illustrating the romantic view of imperial origins, a pride in national possession of what Joseph Chamberlain called the imperial 'estates' and identifying themselves with royal and military events and scoring in the marketplace with images from the contemporary cult of personality. The opportunities were endless, some direct others more subtle and ranged from Batger and Co.'s Colonial Crackers which featured a central portrait of Joseph Chamberlain surrounded by colonial crests and imperial flags and the slogan 'One Flag, One empire' to Macfarlane Lang's Imperial Assorted Biscuits which sported a large lion and the British and royal standards.⁵²

In the summer of 1897 many of these imperial themes were combined with images of Queen Victoria. Newspaper and poster advertisements for Bovril in 1897 all had a substantial central oval portrait of Queen Victoria along with the product name. They

⁵¹ L. Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994, p. 86.

⁵² See also: P.T. Marsh, *Joseph Chamberlain: Entrepreneur in Politics*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1994, p. 83.

trumpeted the fact that the company was 'By Royal Warrant to Her Most Gracious Majesty.' Keen's Mustard sported a special full colour tribute on their advertising plaques: 'In Commemoration of Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee,' and featured a central oval portrait of the Queen but in this case in conjunction with another of equal size featuring George II because their product had been 'First Manufactured 1742 in the Reign of George II.' Even Nestle produced a very stylish Diamond Jubilee advertisement with three illustrations of Victoria during her lifetime, an ethereal woman - possibly Britannia holding her crown - a lion and unicorn in the top corners and below them representations of industry and empire. It was, appropriately, for monarch and Nestle all done in purple.⁵³

The entertainment industry was also heavily involved in advertising at this time. Their advertisements sat side by side with Nestle's, Fry's, and Aspinall's, filling column inches in newspapers and covering walls and hoardings. Advertisements for Madame Tussaud's, featured a three part Queen Victoria spectacular in 1897.⁵⁴ And there were yet others for the many theatres and music halls where Diamond Jubilee productions abounded. The presence of 'outlandish' colonial troops was ideal material for the booming London entertainment industry and also made great advertising copy.

Theatres and music halls in both the West and East Ends fed a demand created by the Victorian media for spectacle, extravagant melodrama, elaborate military display and royal themed pantomimes. One of the strangest productions of 1897 was performed at The Standard Theatre where: 'Amongst the many attractive items in last week's programme at this popular hall was a new sketch entitled Our Diamond Jubilee, written by Mr Hal Collier and played by the Juanita Combination.'⁵⁵ Across the metropolis audiences attended shows

⁵³ L. Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994, illustrations.

⁵⁴ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 29 June 1897, p. 9. The *Morning Post* reported that there Jubilee display was a huge success: 'At Madame Tussaud's 23,418 people had passed through the turnstiles at 8 p.m. yesterday,' *Morning Post*, 8 June 1897, p. 5.

⁵⁵ *Era*, 5 June 1897, p. 18. See also: A. Briggs, *Victorian Things*, London: Batsford, 1988, p. 104.

like this elaborately dramatizing Victoria's reign and the Jubilee.⁵⁶ The Jubilee show at the South London Music Hall featured an 'array of dancers and a scene illuminated by 1000 electric lights.'⁵⁷ The Empire in Hackney offered 'a patriotic ballet' entitled *Under One Flag*, which presented a 'picturesque assemblage of representative British and Colonial troops.' In the West End, the Alhambra Theatre staged 'Victoria and Merrie England,' which one reviewer described as 'a splendid commencement of the rejoicings which are to mark this present year of Jubilee.'⁵⁸

Many in those theatre audiences and on the streets were equally part of the greater Jubilee performance - dressed and ornamented for the occasion, 'every errand boy wore his Jubilee favour...even the practical top-hatted City man sported in his buttonhole the colours that rule the world.'⁵⁹ It is important to remember that Jubilee Day, 22 June, was not a one day wonder and that people's preparations for the main events had begun weeks before and the party went on for days after. The significance and public interest was built up over the proceeding weeks through reporting of the colonial arrivals and as we have already seen - weekly newspaper and magazine columns detailing the preparations being made by government and institutions for the big day. Such was the engagement engendered that for the first time with such a royal occasion the public excitement also continued well after the event. Souvenirs were on sale weeks ahead and weeks after, while billboards with royal iconography went up and stayed up during July, August and into September. Newspaper

⁵⁶ P. Summerfield, 'Patriotism and Empire: Music Hall Entertainment, 1870-1914,' in J. M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1986, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁷ *Reynolds's News*, 28 February 1897, p. 5. Advertisements were in many papers throughout 1897, this one appeared a month after: 'The best Diamond Jubilee show in London meeting with a rapturous display of loyal feeling. In the Opera House there is an excellent company of artists, including Miss Constance Moxon, Mr Tom Craven, the Kilpatrick's, Miss Marie Hill, and Miss Rosie Coleman,' *Era*, 31 July 1897, p. 20.

⁵⁸ *Daily Graphic*, 1 July 1897, p. 17. However, in the case of probably the main entertainment event of the Diamond Jubilee, *Reynolds's News* was again the lone voice of media dissent, observing that: 'A State concert was given on Friday night, paid for by the State. Yet the only representatives of the State present were the aristocracy,' *Reynolds's News*, 30 May 1897, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Some personal decorations were of a more practical nature, as reported by the *Morning Post*: 'On the back of each pupil's Jubilee badge - was written the name of the wearer with his or her address and the name of the school as an indication to the police of the destination of any child who might happen to stray.' *Morning Post*, 24 June 1897, p. 5. A. C. Harmsworth, 'The Diamond Jubilee Celebrations', 1897, p. 195.

articles and advertisements related to or referencing the Jubilee were published from as early as January to as late as October 1897. Songs were even sung in music halls, first promoting the Jubilee at the beginning of the year and then remembering it at the end. One, 'The Diamond Jubilee Song,' which continued to be popular for the whole of 1897, included a chorus about Victoria being Empress of India, how she was revered in 'far Australia' and another that emphasised her feminine qualities:

As loving wife, mother, and Queen,
She's done her duty well,
And she has had her share of grief
As all of us can tell.
She's bravely borne herself through all,
And now her step's more free,
So let us all with our acclaim
Welcome her Jubilee.⁶⁰

Songs like this also helped spread the message of the Jubilee beyond the theatres. They were a souvenir that could taken away by members of the audience and kept for free, if they had a good memory and a good voice. No doubt a few song writers and music publishers made small commercial successes from the sale of their Jubilee songs to music halls and later through printed sheet music sales if a song became popular but how their work was then passed on to others was completely out of their control. The large Victorian souvenir industry would never have considered adding songs to their list of offerings. The souvenir producers and sellers required more product control and made far more money out of very solid Jubilee memories.

⁶⁰ *Graphic*, 26 June 1897, p. 795. It was also published in full in: *London Daily News*, 18 June 1897, p.7; *Era*, 14 August 1897, p.12, and in numerous other publications all through 1897.



Figure 10. 'Street View with Diamond Jubilee Decorations, St James Street, St James', Westminster, Greater London', Photographers: York and Son, CC97/01168, 1897, National Archive, London.

Jubilee souvenirs and bric-a-brac 'for every taste and every size of pocket,' were on sale during 1897.⁶¹ According to the *Telegraph* memorabilia was already in high demand and 'walking out of the shops' three months before the big day.⁶² Many businesses were also heavily decorated weeks before, to both build an atmosphere that would lead to consumption and to answer that need 'as completely as possible.' A proposition, predictably, not welcomed by *Reynolds's Newspaper*, which declared instead that: 'The Jubilee decorations are the most tawdry, inartistic things that the entire world has ever seen. They cost practically nothing, and may be taken as an index of the loyalty of the shopkeeping nation towards monarchical institutions.'⁶³ (Figure 10.)

⁶¹ According to a Letter to the Editor published in the *Morning Post*, these items were valuable alone in that: 'Jubilee souvenirs are most instructive, being quite an education to those not well versed in the intricacies of heraldry.' *Morning Post*, 4 June 1897, p.6. The *Telegraph* also praised their didactic function. *Telegraph*, 15 June 1897, p.10.

⁶² *Telegraph*, 26 March 1897, p. 7 & *Telegraph*, 10 June 1897, p. 11.

⁶³ *Reynolds's News*, 20 June 1897, p. 1.

Royal souvenirs were not new, they had been around long before the Diamond Jubilee.⁶⁴ However, it was only in the later years of Victoria's reign that they became available to all levels of society. Collecting royal commemorative china, for instance, had in the past only been for those with high disposable incomes. By 1897 all that had changed and large run cheap souvenirs were available to all levels of society.⁶⁵ In that year manufacturers produced quantities of souvenirs. Entrepreneurs, remembering the commercial success of the first Jubilee, surpassed their previous effort, by producing far more affordable souvenirs than ever before. Potters, who had long been producers of commemorative wares, greatly expanded their output of souvenirs in the Diamond Jubilee year and because of the scale of production were able to cut their prices dramatically. Doulton had only produced one type of commemorative mug in 1887 but in 1897 offered over a dozen Diamond Jubilee designs in a variety of colours.⁶⁶ A current collectors guide claims that the 1897 event 'was commemorated with such a mass of plates and mugs and jugs and cups, and even toast racks that no full list can ever be compiled.'⁶⁷

As well as pottery, manufacturers also produced an incredible range of souvenir medals. Before Victoria's Jubilees, souvenir medals of royal occasions had not been popular. More medals had been issued in support of Queen Caroline than for the coronation of her husband, and the coronations of William and Victoria led to only insignificant production. The royal family at that time was so unpopular, and the appeal of royal ceremonial so limited, that large-scale commercial exploitation was impossible.⁶⁸ 1897 could not have been more different. Spinks and Son Medallists, offered over thirty different varieties of

⁶⁴ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 6 June 1897, p.18, has some good examples of what was on offer during the Diamond Jubilee. See also: J. McKay, *Commemorative Pottery and Porcelain*, Garnstone Press, London, 1971, p. 3.

⁶⁵ T. Richards, *Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1990, pp. 73-118.

⁶⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 June 1897, p. 12 & *Graphic*, 12 June 1897, p. 32. See also: M. H. Davey & D. J. Mannion, *Fifty Years of Commemorative China, 1887-1937*, Hemel Hempstead, Dayman, 1988, p. 16.

⁶⁷ J. & J. May, *Commemorative Pottery 1780-1900*, Charles Scribner, New York, 1973, p. 74.

⁶⁸ D. Rogers, *Coronation Souvenirs and Commemoratives*, Latimer New Dimensions, London, 1975, pp. 25-30.

commemorative medals ranging from eighteen carat gold medals priced at £30 to special and very cheap versions for children.⁶⁹ Many of these medals were produced in huge runs: over 300,000 medals of one particular design, that featured portraits of Victoria in 1837 and 1897, were struck.⁷⁰ They were small, cheap and easily stamped with a sponsor's name and doubled as advertising. Some indication of the spread of these commemorative souvenirs across the empire can be seen in the collections of Australian museums. The Powerhouse Museum in Sydney, for example, has sixty one mementos of the Diamond Jubilee in its collection, forty seven of which are commemorative medals that can be viewed on their website.⁷¹ Nearly all of them carry a sponsor's name.

There were also many other types of souvenirs on offer, competing with pottery and medals for the public's money and aimed at people of all classes. Six pence would buy a child's tin Diamond Jubilee Cup; or cheaper still were printed souvenirs such as cards which rotated a disc so that you could choose which royal family member would appear.⁷² There were also teapots, clocks, and spoons. The more affluent shopper could even buy a special gold watch for £60, featuring enamel portraits of the royal family at each quarter hour with the Queen appearing at twelve o'clock.⁷³ Manufacturers covered souvenirs with imperial regalia, scenes from Victoria's reign, drawings of the Queen's residences, and ornate decoration.

⁶⁹ *Graphic*, 12 June 1897, p. 3, Spinks & Sons Medallists, *Catalogue of Sexagenary Medals*, Spinks & Sons, London, 1897.

⁷⁰ J. R. S. Whiting, *Commemorative Medals: A Medallist History of Britain from Tudor Times to the Present Day*, David and Charles, Newton Abbott, 1972, p. 174.

⁷¹ <http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/subject=Queen+Victoria+Diamond+Jubilee+Celebrations>

⁷² *London Daily News*, 1 June 1897, p. 11. See also: TNA: PRO COPY 1/133, No. 90, 1897. Copyright records for 1897.

⁷³ *Graphic*, 26 May 1897, p. 679 & p. 711, the advertisements appeared in all the issues from May to July 1897. See also: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 June 1897, p. 11.

In addition to the many souvenirs offered for purchase, many businesses included free premiums or collector's packages with their products. Biscuit, confectionery, and tea manufacturers packaged their goods in tins emblazoned with colourful pictures of Victoria.⁷⁴ Callard and Bowser's Butterscotch gave, in addition to a special box, a history of the 'Victorian Era' written for children.⁷⁵ One furniture company offered its incentive to customers by including with the purchase of £25 worth of furniture a souvenir Diamond Jubilee chair decorated with a picture of the Queen.⁷⁶

The public was offered special editions, special souvenirs, special premiums and giveaways of every sort. Sunday schools gave out Jubilee medals, London clothing stores gave Jubilee key rings and every club seemed to produce a special Diamond Jubilee badge.⁷⁷ Thousands of these things were produced; children in Leicester received free mugs, and free portraits of the Queen - photographs, sketches, big, small, black and white or colour were on offer from every local politician with the money to commission them and an eye to self-promotion.⁷⁸ In ceremonies across Britain and around the world, such small personal souvenir items were given as small gifts carried with them a large complicated public significance, commemorating the reign of the Queen, the triumph of the empire and the generosity of local civic officials.

⁷⁴ *Evening Telegraph*, 24 April 1897, p. 1; *Morning Post*, 10 May 1897, p. 1 & *Motherwell Times*, 11 June 1897, p. 3. See also: J. May and J. May, *Commemorative Pottery 1780-1900*, 1973, p. 83.

⁷⁵ *Graphic*, 1 June 1897, iv. One of the more unusual Diamond Jubilee gifts to the public was this: 'Mr. V. C. Mallan, dentist, will give 60 Sets of Artificial Teeth to 60 poor women, who must be 60 years of age or over. For application forms apply, by letter, to 106 Edgware Road.' *London Standard*, 23 March 1897, p. 1.

⁷⁶ *Graphic*, 29 May 1897, p. 683 & *Manchester Evening News*, 19 June 1897, p. 1.

⁷⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 12 June 1897, p.834; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 January 1897, p. 8 & *Dundee Courier*, 26 June 1897, p. 6. These are just some of the very many articles about medals and badges to be presented in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee.

⁷⁸ *The Times*, 9 June 1897, p. 6, and 31 May 1897, p. 8; 'Jubilee medals, presented by Sir Tollemache Sinclair, were distributed by Mrs Sinclair to the children, and at the close prizes were given to the competitors in the games. Cheers were given for the Queen, and the National Anthem sung.' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 24 June 1897, p. 2.

Most Diamond Jubilee keep sakes, simply made of paper, pottery, or common metal, were not in any way in themselves intrinsically valuable items. They were cheaply produced and looked it. However, many of them were not discarded after the event, they were kept and treasured as family heirlooms because of their association with what those that collected them considered to be the event of the age and the celebrity of the age. In the commercial world, businesses sold commemorative plates by the thousands, not for their actual purpose of serving food but to never be used, to be placed somewhere special, kept and displayed.⁷⁹ Just as souvenirs added to the perceived significance of the Diamond Jubilee, the event itself in turn helped establish the idea with the public that even cheap souvenirs were important symbolic commodities that could be passed down to future generations and even traded. Their new popularity and importance even registered in the language with the appearance for the first time of phrases such as souvenir-hunter, souvenir-program, and souvenir-spoon.⁸⁰

The increasing importance of the souvenir can be linked to changes in the nature of social memory. Many historians, especially Susan Stewart and Richard Terdiman, have noted that in the rapidly changing cultural landscape of nineteenth-century industrial societies, the ways in which memory was produced changed greatly.⁸¹ As social memory was no longer transmitted primarily through face to face contact, formal, public commemoration (such as statues and ceremonies) became increasingly important. Souvenirs were, in Thomas Richards' words, 'miniature versions of this monumental public gadgetry.'⁸² They might be cheaply made and appear trivial but souvenirs were nonetheless invested with the memory of events, places and history. Unlike monuments, however, souvenirs were for private

⁷⁹ S. Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1984, pp. 132-145.

⁸⁰ *Graphic*, 8 May 1897, p. 39. See also: *Oxford English Dictionary*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2010.

⁸¹ S. Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1993, pp. 132-151 & R. Terdiman, 'Historicizing Memory,' *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1993, pp. 3-32.

⁸² T. Richards, *Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1990, p. 94.

consumption and offered a new form of participation in public events. In obtaining mugs or medals, consumers brought into their home articles inscribed with public significance and therefore engaged in the construction of social memory in the private sphere. The souvenir commemorated private history as well as public history: in purchasing a souvenir the consumer marked both the public celebration of the longest reign in British history, and some personal, if limited, experience of that event.⁸³ Indeed, in order to commemorate the reign it could be argued that it was no longer necessary to attend the central event, the parade, but only to purchase a souvenir. This often cheaply purchased 'memory' of the Diamond Jubilee and Queen Victoria became, as time passed and it became part of family history, just as important as the real event and the real person.

Such memorabilia added significantly to and built upon a long list of things 'Victoria' which were already in the public domain. The royal coat of arms above a court bench, the official portrait in a police station meant Britain and British values as much as they did the presence of a Queen on the throne. There were red mail boxes emblazoned with the initials VRI, the Queen's profile on postage stamps, the many Queen's Parks, and even major geographical features like Victoria Falls or Lake Victoria. There was Queen's Cross (later King's Cross) in Sydney, Victoria - was the name of the provincial capital of British Columbia in Canada, and an entire colony in Australia was named Victoria. These were seals of approval in a world where the authority of the British crown offered something like a guarantee of quality. Naming places in such a way is part of the construction of collective memory, a term first coined by the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. Collective memory is different from individual memory, it is shared between a group, then passed on and as it does, so is reinterpreted and reinvented. Halbwachs' original ideas were taken one step further by Jan Assmann who developed the idea of sites of Cultural Memory. Pierre

⁸³ In the Victorian world mobility throughout the empire increased year by year. In the later years of Victoria's reign small souvenirs and scrapbooks were among the few objects from home that a person immigrating or going to work in Australia, Canada, India or elsewhere, could easily carry with them. Diamond Jubilee souvenirs along with many others, then, were transformed from a cheaply produced consumable to family treasures and objects of emotional survival in a foreign land. See: S. Stewart, *On Longing*, 1993, pp. 134-8.

Nora extended the concept once again in his work on just how the collective memory of a nation can be seen in the memorials they erect. This public memory is shaped by how and why things are named and in physical monuments and in turn, what a nation or an empire chooses to name or memorialise in places and physical monuments become an indicator of the collective memory.⁸⁴ So it was with Queen Victoria.

The genius of the commercial world during 1897 was the way that it built upon and then extended this collective memory to encompass objects representing all aspects of everyday life not just names and monuments. Entrepreneurs stenciled emblems, etched mottoes, and embroidered patches on banners, samplers, rugs, plates, cups, spoons, statuettes, bookmarks, toys, games, dolls, jump-rope handles, medals, bracelets, brooches, trinket boxes, and scent bottles. In fact anything that they could get their hands on. The Black Country Museum in Dudley has quite a few examples of such items on display but probably the most impressive is a jug and glass set; acid etched with portraits of the young and old Victoria, various inscriptions: 'Commemoration of 60 Years Reign,' 'Longest Reign in History,' surrounded by etched flowers, foliage and scrollwork; some of the decoration being infilled with gilding. Such items were everywhere, from Camden to Cairo, filling shelves and decorating mantle pieces, everyday familiar objects reinforcing by their daily presence the imperial brand. The image of Queen Victoria was brought into homes everywhere in the British world. In the year of the Diamond Jubilee, the crown became less of a political institution and more a vast benign commissary dispensing the British way of life with Victoria branded products, memorabilia and statues.

There were many ways for the public to consume and experience the Diamond Jubilee, far more than there had been just ten years earlier: purchasing souvenirs, going to Jubilee shows, reading about the events and the participants in cheap readily available newspapers,

⁸⁴ A lot of great work on history and memory has been done since the 1990s, some of the best I think are: M. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992; J. Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2005; P. Nora, *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de mémoire*, University Of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1999.

seeing advertisements, wearing special clothing, even taking photographs. A month after the parade they could even watch a short film of the highlights entitled 'The Queen, God Bless her!' produced by *British Pathe* and featured on the bill of music halls across Britain during the remainder of 1897.⁸⁵

By simply taking a moment to read a poster, purchasing a souvenir, attending a variety performance, decorating their street, reading the daily press, and collecting special editions of magazines for the pictures, or joining the 22 June crowds on the streets for free (or in specially constructed stands at a price) the British public experienced the Diamond Jubilee in a new and more complex way than any previous royal event. (Figure 11.) Each person's experience was just a little different but the common thread was continual exposure to many positive images of Queen Victoria. She was impossible to ignore in 1897. Public



Figure 11. 'Street View looking East with Diamond Jubilee Decorations and stand, Strand, Westminster, Greater London,' CC97/01166, 1897, National Archive, London.

⁸⁵ *Daily Mail*, 18 June 1897, p. 5. From 3 July *Era* was carrying advertisements for the film of the Diamond Jubilee: 'JUBILEE FILMS, The whole of the Procession, including the Queen. Nearly 500ft long. Cheapest and Best Machines and Films in the Market. Machines and Operators sent anywhere. HARVARD, 28, Reedworth Street, Kennington Road, London.' *Era*, 3 July 1897, p.27, and later: 'JUBILEE FILMS, As now being Shown at the WINTER GARDENS, MORECAMBE,' *Era*, 10 July 1897, p.25.

enthusiasm, commercial exploitation, official show and a developing mania for collecting all came into play around what at first would seem the unlikely image of a simply dressed old lady at the centre of an elaborate parade, imagined as the embodiment of all things good about Britain and the British Empire. The superlatives of journalists, the bombast of public officials and the hyperbole of advertisers transformed the Diamond Jubilee and took Queen Victoria to a new level again of significance and celebrity.⁸⁶ The story of how Queen and Jubilee were celebrated and interpreted elsewhere in the empire, as we shall see in the next section of this thesis, was much more problematic.

⁸⁶ T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, Basic Books, New York, 1995, p. 65. Jackson Lears looks at how advertising and marketing are part of any culture and connected with societal values.

4. Every Man Such a Splendid Specimen

When Joseph Chamberlain proposed inviting colonial troops to participate in the Diamond Jubilee Parade on 22 June he changed the meaning of the event completely.¹ Some civil servant producers were not altogether happy with this change, and felt the colonial contingent should make up only a minor component of the festivities. In the end their role was not minor, instead a growing public and commercial interest in the exotic shifted the visiting soldiers and the theme of imperial unity into prominence in the final spectacle. In the lead up to the big day journalists and the producers of souvenir publications placed the expansion of the empire prominently at the centre of the story of Victoria's reign and illustrated it with as many diagrams, charts and maps as they could muster. Then the presence of such exotic creatures walking their streets drew the eyes and interest of the crowds naturally towards the visiting colonials and the many strange and far away places they represented. However, there was one thing that they did not have to be told about these differing examples of manhood. They were fully aware that they were all soldiers of the Queen.

In the previous chapter of this thesis it was established that in Britain, Queen Victoria's association with imperial expansion was now at the core of a colonial legacy imagined as exciting, progressive and benevolent. On the colonial side, there is evidence that Victoria was imagined far more positively in the colonial setting than her various governments and because of this held a special place in colonial imaginations. Maria Nugent provides an excellent example of this positive perception of Victoria in the colonial setting in her exploration of her relationship with Australian Aboriginal people. Queen Victoria became a powerful and positive symbol in Aboriginal oral traditions and the narratives constructed around her. The picture that emerges is of a benevolent, almost supernaturally good,

¹ TNA: PRO CO 323/421. Memorandum, 14 January 1897.

Queen who was far more approachable than any government official. It is not surprising then, that Australian Aborigines were among many groups and individuals across the empire and beyond to make direct written appeals to Victoria between 1837 and 1901.² They did so because the Queen was seen as approachable in a way that her all male governments were not. The many official colonial government artefacts that referenced the Queen are also evidence of the special place the Queen held in colonial imaginations. There are, in contrast, only a handful referencing her governments. One interesting example of such Victoriana is a bronze sculpture of 'Queen Victoria in Her Coronation Robes,' made in Britain, commissioned by the New South Wales government and dated 1897 which is held in the collection of the Australian War Memorial, Canberra. Although in Coronation robes it is a commemorative of her Diamond Jubilee. The base has four panels with allegorical figures of India as a female warrior with sword, helmet and shield, Canada as a female farmer with wheat sheath and scythe, Africa a female figure holding a spade and nuggets of gold and Australia as a shepherdess with crook and cornucopia. This statuette well demonstrates the esteem in which Queen Victoria was in by many people in the British Empire. Its place in the collection is evidence of how her image and not that of British Prime ministers or Colonial Office Officials was collected and preserved, in this case by Australians, who spent substantial sums on such pieces.³

Just as such British things and British people were traveling to the colonies, colonial things and colonial people were also traveling to Britain. Never was this more obvious than in June 1897. Colonial contingents came from across the world to

² M. Nugent, "'Tell the Queen we very good blackfellows': Interpreting Aboriginal people's appeals to Queen Victoria during her reign," Seminar, School of History, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 10 November 2010. Early in Victoria's reign, November 1838, five High Chiefs from Tahiti, unhappy with the prospect of French rule, they sent an appeal via the colony of New South Wales to Queen Victoria: "Let your flag cover us and your Lion defend us - determine the form through which we could shelter ourselves lawfully under your wing..." quoted in J. Ingram Brookes, *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-1875*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1941, p. 48.

³ 'Queen Victoria in Her Coronation Robes,' the collection of the Australian War Memorial, Canberra. (AWM ID Number: ART93417) See also: J.M. Mackenzie, (ed.), *The Victorian Vision*, V&A Publications, London, 2001, pp. 241-243.

take part in the Jubilee Day procession, were encamped at Chelsea and had crowds of sightseers wandering around their tents for days before and after the big event. Also on show were the Premiers and Prime Ministers of the eleven self-governing colonies that came with them, as they drove to and from official functions, shopped with their wives, or as they simply took tea in the city. The Prime Minister of Canada, Wilfrid Laurier, was knighted on Jubilee morning, and the Premier of Tasmania, Edward Braddon, featured in all the newspapers as the author of a book about hunting in India.⁴ In the week of the Jubilee there was an Imperial Fete in Regent's Park, an Imperial Ballet at Her Majesty's Theatre, Nellie Melba sang at the Opera and all the visiting colonial and Indian officers were taken by a special train to a demonstration in Kent of the new Maxim-Nordenfeldt gun.

The key event though was, of course, the parade on 22 June which presented Britain and her colonies as a sea of masculinity, with a contrastingly small feminine figure at its centre. Assembled in London for this purpose was an assortment of imperial manhood, high and low, presented as a testament to the 'manly' and martial strength of the empire and its civilising influence. They fitted comfortably in with Victorian social expectations, males proud of their work, protective of women and children, and able to dress and act properly in public. Victorian masculinity is the subject of diverse debate, especially regarding the mixing of imperialism, religion and sport. Ideas about Christianity were tied deeply to ideas about Victorian masculinity. 'Real' men in this era were the heads of their households in a very biblical sense, rulers and protectors of the weak. While Social Darwinism provided the same masculine, ruler and protector, example for those not religiously inclined. Imperialism and manliness, went hand in hand as the weak were subordinated. Male soldiers, pioneers, explorers and hunters were glorified and mythologised in the press and popular literature and linked with ideas of the hardy 'man's man' of empire. Herbert Sussman, in particular,

⁴ *The Times*, 20 June 1897, p. 4. Even the *Reading Mercury* had a guide to colonial celebrities at the Diamond Jubilee: *Reading Mercury*, 15 May 1897, p. 4.

has focused on the nature of contest and framing within what he sees as the very complex nature of Victorian masculinity and its unstable equilibrium, simultaneously subverting and maintaining patriarchal power.⁵

Strong, fit young men in uniforms were out and about everywhere in London during June 1897. Along with them in the parks, cafes and music-halls of the capital could be seen, in the flesh, others only previously seen in picture books: Princes, Sultans, Sikhs, Chinese, Malays, and West Africans. The empire had come to town and suddenly London was different, somehow more exotic. London had for many years prior to this been an international city with international visitors, but not on this scale and not visitors like these, determined to show off their difference and their exoticism, rather than trying to blend in. There is no evidence in the form of written orders or directives, but it would not be surprising if there had been instructions or requests, from the Colonial Office, to visiting colonial military, police and officialdom to stay in their uniforms and be as visible as possible, for maximum effect. There were even newspaper spotter's guides, like bird watching guides, to help spectators identify the different species of visiting colonials and important visiting dignitaries as they walked the streets or appeared in the parade.⁶

Most residents of London in June 1897 were probably, as we are today with distant places, familiar with their empire in only generalist terms rather than in fine detail. The newspaper coverage of the parade (often unsuccessfully trying to avoid prejudice) was more about the 'freak-show' wonder of these very different people, rather than any genuine understanding of them. If all these strange characters had not been wearing British style uniforms and

⁵ H. Sussman, *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Posties in Early Victorian Literature and Art*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, pp. 1-12. See also: J. Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2007 & M. Danahay, *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005.

⁶ *The Times*, *Telegraph*, *Graphic*, *London Standard*, *London Daily News & Morning Post*, 26 June 1897, all had substantial guides and advice on where, what and who to see in the parade through the city along with maps of the route and pictures of the various dignitaries on show. These guides were also meant to become cheap collectible souvenirs to be kept after the event as a keepsake. See also: J. Morris, *Pax Britannica: The Climax of an Empire*, Faber & Faber, London, 1988, p. 21.

carrying Union Jacks, the response to some of these 'others' may not have been quite so positive. However, as Mary Krout records, under the circumstances of Jubilee enthusiasm they were greeted warmly. She gives us a description of Brothers-in-Arms, Brothers-in-Empire, and a rather weird celebration that was half martial fashion show and half family reunion:

While the regular troops were sufficiently admired, greater interest seemed to center in the colonial military and mounted police, doubtless because they were less familiar to the spectators...the negro police from the Queen's possessions in East Africa, giant, jet black negroes; the handsome, graceful Maoris from New Zealand; the detachments of native Indian soldiery, swarthy muscular Sikhs; the tiny Burmese and Siamese volunteers all called for a liberal share of praise. The Indians in their many-colored turbans, and their fine, delicate draperies were literally the flower of all that splendid host, and these too were greeted with ringing cheers.⁷

Champions and exotic arcana marched through the streets of London. The variety was endless and alongside the strange creatures already listed by Mary Krout were giant cavalymen from New South Wales, Bikaner camel troops, Dyak head-hunters, and Hong Kong Police in coolie hats. Malays, Sinhalese, Hausas, Jamaicans with white gaiters and embroidered jackets all drew attention. While British Guiana police with French gendarmes caps, Cypriot Zaptiehs in fezzes (hissed by the jingo crowd because they thought they were Turks) marched alongside Indian Lancers. There was a Maori who, according to the *Daily Mail*, weighed twenty-eight stone, and a Dyak who had taken thirteen human heads.⁸ The Diamond Jubilee parade was a Roman Triumph on the Thames, citizens and barbarians,

⁷ M. Krout, *A Looker-On in London*, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1899, p. 302.

⁸ The *London Daily News* featured a two page spread of the different colonial forces in boxes almost like exhibits in a freak show or a zoo. The captions read like an anthropology, detailing facial features, physical characteristics and strange facts about their homelands. *London Daily News*, 26 June 1897, p. 6. *Daily Mail*, 23 June 1897, p. 2 & M. Krout, *A Looker-On in London*, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1899, p. 301.

called from the frontiers of the empire to a grey imperial capital far away. To the *Daily Mail* the British-bred colonials were:

... all so smart and straight and strong, every man such a splendid specimen and testimony to the GREATNESS OF THE BRITISH RACE that there was not an Imperialist in the crowd who did not from the sight of them gain a new view of the glory of the British Empire.⁹

Reaction to the attendance of black and Asian colonial subjects was markedly different to their white counterparts. This was not the first or last time that the colonial 'other' was displayed in the imperial metropolis. As Ben Shephard notes, there had been many instances of displays of colonial subjects in London including the 'Hottentot Venus' in 1811, and others featuring various Africans displayed as either evolutionary anomalies or as fierce warriors re-enacting battles.¹⁰ These exhibitions and shows presented Victorian audiences with confirmation of their racial categories which placed western Europeans on the top and Africans at the bottom 'in an infantile position, likely to progress only with the aid of superior white races.'¹¹

The assembly of troops for the Diamond Jubilee did nothing to undermine this notion of racial categories. Newspaper accounts of the arrival of the troops in London and of the procession itself used a miscellany of cultural and physical characteristics to portray them as racial stereotypes representative of the empire's populations. (Figure 12.) George Warrington Steevens in the *Daily Mail* described:

⁹ *Daily Mail*, 23 June 1897, p. 3 & *Brisbane Courier*, 23 June 1897, p. 4.

¹⁰ B. Shephard, 'Showbiz Imperialism: The Case of Peter Lovengula,' in J. MacKenzie, (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1989, pp. 94-112.

¹¹ D. A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class, and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1978, p. 91-93.

upstanding Sikhs, tiny little Malays and Dyaks; Chinese with a white basin turned upside down on their heads, grinning Hausas, so dead black that they shone like silver in the sun - white men, yellow men, black men, every colour, every continent, every race, every speech... The procession was', ... 'an anthropological museum - a living gazetteer of the British Empire.'¹²

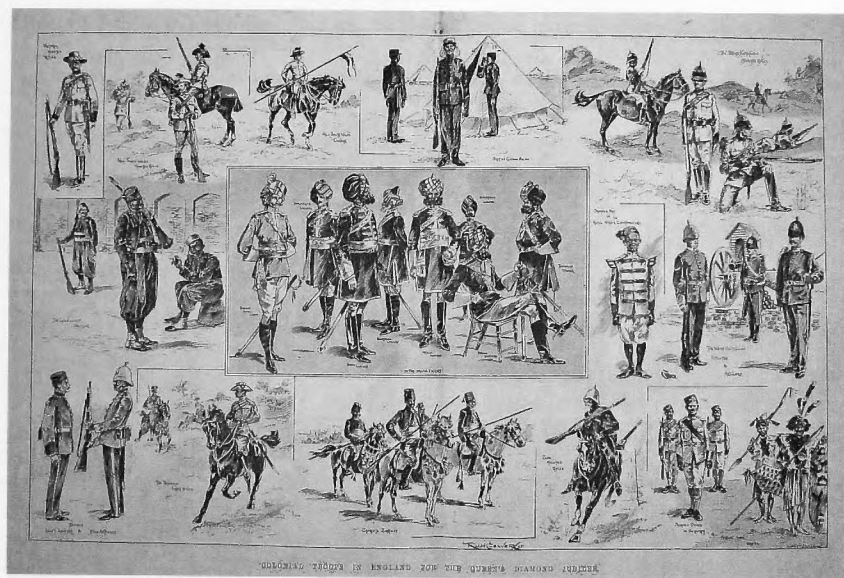


Figure 12. 'Colonial Troops in England for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee,' *Illustrated London News*, June 1897.

Whereas representations of racial difference in late-Victorian Britain were often imbued with a sense of danger and sometimes implied that other races were not only behind on the evolutionary scale but also incapable of progress, the narrative of the Diamond Jubilee had a different emphasis.¹³ The *Illustrated London News*, for example, began its description of the troops ambiguously: 'Then, most picturesque of all, came a motley array of infantry, terrible and beautiful to behold Sikhs, Chinese ... Malays ... Dyaks, Cingalises, Houssas,

¹² *Daily Mail*, 23 June 1897, p. 4. See also: *London Daily News*, 23 June 1897, p. 9 & *London Standard*, 23 June 1897, p. 2.

¹³ P. Crook, *Darwin's Coat-Tails: Essays on Social Darwinism*, Peter Lang, New York, 2007, pp. 205-226.

West Indian Regiments, Negroes from British Guiana, and dusky warriors from Trinidad.' Who were not to be considered threatening but instead 'our allies ... in peril.'¹⁴ In accounts of the Diamond Jubilee procession, the diversity of racial difference, rather than the inherent danger in these others, made the success of the empire all the more apparent. That these troops could be assembled in London around their Queen was evidence, according to observers, of the civilising effects of British imperialism. The reassuring effect of British military discipline was on public display in these strange soldiers and highlighted by an emphasis in descriptions on their proximity to savage pasts. (Figure 13.)

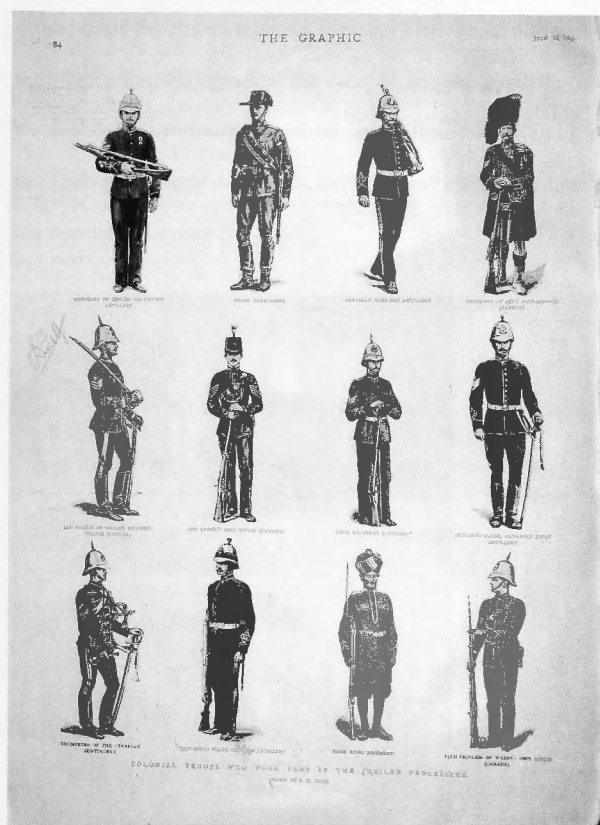


Figure 13. 'Colonial Troops Who Took Part in the Diamond Jubilee Procession,' Part 1, *Graphic*, 17 July 1897.

¹⁴ *Illustrated London News*, 26 June 1897, p. 908. See also: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 June 1897, pp. 7-8 & *Morning Post*, 22 June 1897, p. 5.

Of particular interest to the press were the British North Borneo Police, of whom *The Times* wrote:

In their police uniform of khaki these men look wiry soldiers and no more. Nothing of the barbarous is left about them save the black and white feathers on their scabbards; but one of their number is said in his barbarous days to have taken thirteen heads in his occupation as a head-hunter.¹⁵

Here, the Borneo men are imagined as savages saved from barbarity by the civilising influence of the British imperial advance. Their khaki uniforms marking their transformation and signalling the value of empire. Similarly, the *Illustrated London News* wrote that the previously ‘ferocious...smart little fellows, in brown holland uniforms...do not seem particularly dangerous, having learnt a lesson of civilisation so far as to restrain the homicidal instinct.’¹⁶



Figure 14. 'Colonial Troops including the New South Wales Mounted Rifles', *Graphic*, 26 June 1897.

¹⁵ *The Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 8. & *Graphic*, 28 June 1897, p. 8.

¹⁶ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 20 June 1897, p. 6 & *Illustrated London News*, 12 June 1897, p. 807.

This theme was reinforced in the many illustrations published in the pictorial press which depicted the troops at the Chelsea Barracks. (Figure 14.) Echoing other illustrations in gazetteers, imperial adventure stories, and on trading cards, the drawings and photographs presented examples of each contingent, often with distinguishing racial and regimental details. The *Illustrated London News*, for instance, published a double page spread of drawings of 'Colonial Troops in England for the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.' Instead of portraying them where they were - in England - they set against indistinct colonial backgrounds such as hills, tents, and a fort, or posed in action on horse back, on guard, or ready to fire their rifles. The Borneo Dyaks were used again and again to illustrate the civilising power of British discipline by the contrasting depiction of them first in 'Native War Dress' and then in uniform.¹⁷

The enthusiasm of journalists for the exotic elements of the Diamond Jubilee was not surprising. As has already been discussed in the previous chapter, by 1897 the imagery of empire had developed into a powerful marketing tool. In the 1890s publishers also produced hundreds of imperial stories, music hall owners staged military pageants and jingoist entertainment and advertisers were regularly using images of strangely dressed explorers, naked Africans, and soldiers battling in strange lands in advertisements for everyday items from soap to cigarettes.¹⁸ This reflected a political climate in which educators, propagandists and politicians increasingly tried to inculcate Britain, including the working class, with nationalist and imperial values.¹⁹ It also reflected the complex way in

¹⁷ *London Daily News*, 24 June 1897, p. 6; *Illustrated London News*, 19 June 1897, p. 851 & *London Standard*, 23 June 1897, p. 2.

¹⁸ J. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984, pp. 15-38.

¹⁹ S. Heathorn, 'Let Us Remember That We, Too, Are British: Constructions of Citizenship and National Identity in English Reading Books, 1880-1914,' *Victorian Studies* 38:3, Spring 1995, pp. 395-428.

which images of empire were domesticated. 'By the end of the century,' John MacKenzie notes 'a stream of imperial bric-a-brac had invaded Victorian homes.'²⁰



Figure 15. 'Lord Mayor Diamond Jubilee Ball at the Guildhall,' *Graphic*, June 1897.

The association of empire and domestic space was not limited to the presence of imperial imagery in British homes. At this time it also became a feature in many Australian, New Zealand and Canadian homes.²¹ The empire itself was often described in familial and domestic terms. This was especially true in the press coverage of the Diamond Jubilee; and emphasis was placed on the fact that it was the first time that representatives of all the subjects of the empire had assembled in London for an official event. (Figure 15.) The result was hailed in the press as positive evidence of an imperial family. However, this family unity did not eclipse difference. The empire that the Diamond Jubilee displayed was

²⁰ J. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation Of British Public Opinion*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984, p. 238. This process is well illustrated by advertisements that appeared regularly in British newspapers from the 1870s onward. This one is typical: 'INDIAN CURIOS. INSPECTION INVITED. All goods carefully packed and sent per post or rail, carriage paid to any part of the United Kingdom. BLACKETT AND SONS.' *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, 16 December 1891, p. 1.

²¹ J. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation Of British Public Opinion*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984, p. 84.

often conceived of as two separate parts: one composed of British emigrants governed with varying degrees of self-rule and another composed of 'others' such as Indians, Africans, Asians, West Indians, and Pacific Islanders ruled either directly or indirectly by Britain. This dichotomy was reinforced in the organisation of the 22 June parade which included colonial Premiers and Prime Ministers from the 'White Dominions' but only troops, nearly always under the command of white officers, from the tropical dependencies. The press described the gathering of the empire's white subjects as a distinct event. The editor of the *Daily Mail*, for example, hailed the arrival of the white colonial leaders and their white troops from the settler colonies as the 'first great reunion of the Anglo-Saxon race.'²² Similarly *The Times* described these troops as a 'fund of strength the empire will be able to draw upon,' and 'vigorous offshoots of the old stock.'²³

In the narrative of the Diamond Jubilee, British military discipline had civilised the soldiers from the tropical possessions, while racial and familial ties literally bound the subjects of the white dominions to their motherland. By far the majority of the Australian politicians in office in 1897, for example, had been born in Britain and the situation would remain that way for years to come. It was according to this narrative - love for Queen Victoria - that brought 'all' the races of empire together. The multiple uses of imperial imagery and colonial referencing are revealed in the often repeated imagery of a regal Queen Victoria surrounded by her cheering colonial troops. Surprisingly, although this kind of illustration was everywhere there is no evidence that this actually occurred in 1897 but pictorial magazines used such imagined scenes as a visual allegory for the Diamond Jubilee. An illustration published in *Black and White*, entitled 'Supremacy,' depicts soldiers from around the empire paying tribute, by heartily cheering Victoria and raising their swords. She sits, monumentally raised above them on a throne, sceptre in hand, gazing impassively at the

²² *Daily Mail*, June 17, 1897, p. 5. A sentiment that was also shared by: *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 6 March 1897, p. 4.

²³ *The Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 14. See also: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 April 1897, p. 14; *The Era*, 26 June 1897, p. 15 & *Morning Post*, 21 October 1897, p. 2.

scene below. Improbably, in the background the ships of the British navy also sail past.²⁴ A similar arrangement of troops and Queen was on the cover of the commemorative number of the *Illustrated London News*. Reinforcing the visual imagery, in prose and poetry, writers also related the story of the Diamond Jubilee as the coming together of all the empire's peoples 'to lay the tribute of their loving homage at the footstool of the noblest of monarchs.'²⁵

The intent of the imagery is clear, a beneficent imperial system based on familial values and firm parenting. There is no doubt who the head of this multi-racial family is, as a diverse group of loyal and brave military from across the empire gather around their beloved mother Victoria.²⁶ It was a theme that businesses also called upon, the united family of empire, diverse but loyal. The message was shifted, just a little, to emphasize that loyalty could also be practiced by buying imperial products that they offered for sale. As we have seen, the sale of drinks and biscuits, paints and machinery all benefited from association with the empire and the Queen.²⁷ It is hard to tell what came first the visual imagery or the theatre spectacle of empire, but both were strikingly similar.²⁸

1897 was unique in that many aspects of this visual imagery and the theatre of spectacle were also repeated and copied, during the Diamond Jubilee, across the empire in a wide ranging international celebration of everyone's Queen Victoria. The 'Record Reign' was celebrated on a large and small scale wherever there was red on the map with commemorative services, parades and illuminations. Just as in London, in tiny Australian towns and in the largest of Canadian cities, in Singapore and Rhodesia, on ships at sea,

²⁴ *Black and White*, 23 June 1897, p. 797. See also: *London Daily News*, 21 June 1897, p. 4.

²⁵ *Graphic*, 26 June 1897, p. 13 & *Morning Post*, 23 June 1897, p. 6.

²⁶ C. Hall, 'From Greenland's Icy Mountains ... to Africa's Golden Sand: Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth Century England,' *Gender and History* 5:2, Summer 1993, pp. 212-230.

²⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 June 1897, p. 4. See also: R. Opie, *Rule Britannia*, Viking, Harmondsworth, 2005, p. 15.

²⁸ For a discussion of this development see: D. & G. Hindley, *Advertising in Victorian England, 1837-1901*, Wayland, London, 1972, pp. 67-71.

celebrations took place. However, they were both similar and different to what was happening in the metropolis - the celebrations on the periphery were very much shaped by the unique contexts of their geographies and differing colonial settings. I have chosen five colonial locales that illustrate how location, both physical and social, led to very different Jubilee experiences in these diverse settings. It is impossible to cover all the celebrations that took place across the world in one small chapter. I have instead tried to capture the diversity of responses through a few key case studies.

The first is the Australian experience of a rural satellite area of the city of Sydney, the Hawkesbury region, close by and also part of the colony of New South Wales. Sydney had been established in 1788, and the main towns of the Hawkesbury were established shortly after in 1794. Since the first settlers arrived to farm the area it had been continually supplying fresh produce to the growing city population of Sydney. Windsor was, and still is, biggest town in the district in 1897, while just a few kilometres away is the smaller township of Richmond. At the time of the Jubilee both Windsor and Richmond were typical Australian country towns with varied levels of housing, including a few recently constructed mansions. Although on a different scale to one another, both had a number of churches of different denomination, a modest town hall, a post office, a telegraph office, a courthouse, a bakery, other small businesses, and a School of Arts.

In the imperial scheme of things the Hawkesbury was a backwater, but even here Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated with gusto and in a variety of ways. Not surprisingly, however, given the areas close proximity to the city of Sydney, where one of the biggest celebrations in the country would take place, many local residents boarded special trains put on for the occasion and travelled to the nearby city for the day. Others, who could not afford it or who thought it too much trouble, stayed in the area and took part in more modest local shows of loyalty to the Crown. Even in this very peripheral setting, politicians and prominent members of the community used the occasion to

reaffirm their positions in society, in exactly the same fashion as their counterparts in Britain. Here to, local politicians preened themselves, school children were marched about and local bands strutted the streets.²⁹

Again, it would also be impossible to cover all the slightly different permutations of honouring Queen Victoria on the occasion of her Diamond Jubilee that took place across Australia during the Jubilee within one chapter of a thesis. However, the numerous newspaper reports from June 1897 show that they all had similar elements, including speeches, parades, church services, band recitals and if the city or town was large enough - illuminations. The coverage of both the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* and *Sydney Morning Herald* was extensive and provides an excellent example of the Australian experience in general.³⁰

In a Jubilee special published on 26 June the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* made it clear that 'many' residents had used the special trains and gone to Sydney, 'where the big show was on offer.'³¹ All the trains leaving Windsor were crammed with men, women and children, 'despite the fact that the highest rates charged on any similar length of line in the colony were demanded of them.' Despite this it was still standing room only for many on the long trip into Sydney, and the Windsor Stationmasters were hard pressed to get tickets issued in time for people to make the trains. Earlier on that Tuesday morning another special train had left Windsor and Richmond carrying the local Volunteer Militia to Sydney so that they could take their place in a large Jubilee Parade. There were another three trains for the general public to catch later that morning. This mirrored what was happening elsewhere in Australia, where those who lived in proximity to a capital city made the day a special occasion and travelled by train to the city. To the far south in the colony of Tasmania,

²⁹ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, pp. 7-8.

³⁰ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, pp. 8-9.

³¹ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7.

'Hobart seemed to be the Mecca of the Jubilee for Tasmania from all parts of the island. The resources of the Railway Department were taxed to the utmost to carry all the people to the capital. Two express trains from the North came in on Saturday evening, both crowded with passengers, two more on Sunday were crammed.'³²

Sydney was a hive of Jubilee activity on 22 June. At 9.00 a.m. a 'general parade of the friendly societies and school children at Granville' began, accompanied by a local band and ending at the public park, where the day was to be celebrated with sports for the children, prizes and a concluding presentation of commemorative medals. A similar 'children's demonstration' was also held at Norwood Park, Marrickville but on an even grander scale, with no less than four processions each with a band - which had begun marching from different starting points at 9.30 a.m. - converging on the park, where speeches and sports were also the order of the day. The SS Sydney left from the foot of Market Street for Port Hacking in the morning with 'excursionists' who would spend the day on the water and then return to Sydney in the early evening for the night time celebrations. A foundation-stone for the new Randwick Post Office was laid by the Postmaster General, with a host of school children singing the National Anthem and concluding with even more commemorative medals which a Mr Storey (the local MLA) gets special mention in the *Sydney Morning Herald* for being generous enough to donate. Similarly, in Brisbane it was the opening of the Victoria Bridge that provided some excitement for the local audience: 'The massed thousands who assembled on the north and south approaches, who lined Queen Street and Victoria Place in dense columns, and who gathered in every conceivable position to command a view of the bridge, testified amply to the enormous public interest in the opening.'³³ Back in Sydney, at noon the children in the Randwick Asylum were given a special dinner, and toys. Children were a special focus of the celebrations all over Australia,

³² *Mercury*, 23 June 1897, p. 3 & *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7-9.

³³ *Brisbane Courier*, 23 June 1897, p. 5. While for Rockhampton it was: '...the demonstration connected with the laying of the foundation stone of the new town hall, we have testimony from our municipal government of their faith in the future of the town and district.' *Morning Bulletin*, 23 June 1897, p. 4. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1897, p. 17.

in Launceston too: 'As soon as the cakes and medals have been distributed to the children, they will proceed to the fountain at the entrance to the City Park, where the ceremony of turning on the water will be performed. After this the children will be free to join in the amusements provided for them in the Park. Inside each packet containing the cake will be placed a ticket, which will entitle the holder to a free ride on the steam gallery and a "go" on the razzle dazzle.'³⁴

In Sydney, at 10.30 a.m. the official government celebration began with a short 'Commemorative Service' at St Andrews Cathedral, attended by the Governor, the Admiral, military and naval officers. Surprisingly, there was no special 'Commemorative Service' in either Brisbane or Melbourne, where military parades began instead at 11.30 a.m.³⁵ This was followed at 11 a.m. in Centennial Park by the Governor's review of the troops and their parade through the city, including representatives of the Hawkesbury District. At 1.15 p.m. the parade began. After leaving Centennial Park it proceeded along Cleveland Street to Regent Street, then up George Street to Martin Place and then Moore Street, turning into Castlereagh Street, then down Bligh into Young Street and down again to Circular Quay. It then wound around the Quay to Macquarie Street, and finally up Macquarie Street concluding at the Queen Victoria statue near Hyde Park. Following this the Governor unveiled a statue of Governor Phillip in the Garden Palace Grounds at 3.00 p.m. In Melbourne, the *Argus* published a map of the route of their parade, for the benefit of attenders looking for the best vantage points but also acting as an advisory of road closures for 'wheeled traffic.'³⁶

At 6.30 p.m. the Sydney illuminations began. Ambulance wagons of the Medical Staff Corps and general service wagons of the Army Service Corps trundled through the streets,

³⁴ *Launceston Examiner*, 21 June 1897, p.6 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1897, p.17.

³⁵ *Argus*, 22 June 1897, p. 5 & *Brisbane Courier*, 22 June 1897, p.6. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1897, p. 17.

³⁶ *Argus*, 21 June 1897, p.5 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1897, p. 17.

carrying the wives and children of non-commissioned officers and men of the Permanent Force to see, in some comfort, the lights and fireworks. The focus, however, was on the harbour. The SS Sydney, now back from its day excursion, and the steamer Lady Hampden made their way around the harbour so that people could see a pyrotechnic display from the water. By contrast, in Melbourne where Port Phillip was not in close proximity to the city, the focus was on the metropolitan streets and buildings: 'Gazing from Bourke Street west, where the illuminations from Menzies converted the sombre surrounding buildings into brilliancy, one saw at the end of the vista the colonnade of Parliament house, showing in dull yellow against an inky sky.'³⁷

What the *Sydney Morning Herald* called a 'Continental,' began at 7 p.m. in the Outer Domain, with seven bands made up of 250 performers who played between 8 p.m. and 10 p.m. Bands were a big feature of the celebrations, in ceremonies and parades during the day and for entertainment at night just as they were in London. There were three bands in Hyde Park and others stationed at: Macquarie's Chair; Martin Place; Milson's Point; Blue's Point; Observatory Reserve; Dawes Point; Fort Macquarie; at Government House and there was even one on the steamer which drew a 'Fiery Dragon' across the harbour. Even in Rockhampton, far to the north in Queensland, the revelers had music, and there according to the *Morning Bulletin*: 'for the greater part of the afternoon, the various brass bands were engaged in melodious rivalry.'³⁸

Precisely at 8 p.m. the Sydney Harbour illuminations and fireworks began, and the full power of the Macquarie Lighthouse was turned on the harbour. The searchlight of a pilot steamer was also thrown on different points of the city, and a 'men-of-war display,' consisting of lighting up all the warships in the harbour that night combined to make 'a spectacular sight.' Fort Denison was the focus of the fireworks display, which concluded at

³⁷ *Argus*, 23 June 1897, p. 8 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1897, p. 17.

³⁸ *Morning Bulletin*, 23 June 1897, p. 5. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1897, p. 17.

9.00 p.m. with 'Mount Vesuvius,' exploding. Hobart's celebrations were on a much smaller scale that day but followed a similar pattern: 'In the afternoon the people for the most part spent their time in inspecting the military camp, and the decorations in the city, whilst in the evening the streets presented an even more animated appearance than during the daylight, everybody again turning out to see the illuminations and fireworks in the Domain.'³⁹

However, the weather in Sydney did not co-operate with organisers' plans and according to the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*: 'Unfortunately for the sightseers, light rain fell in Sydney pretty well all the afternoon, and the soldiers had to march round in it, whilst ladies who had left home spick and span at early morning very soon presented a most miserable appearance.'⁴⁰

Interestingly, the *Sydney Morning Herald* coverage only makes slight mention of the inclement weather and when its effects are mentioned it is usually in conjunction with other statements emphasising how the rain did not deter people or diminish their enjoyment of the day.⁴¹ In Sydney, unlike in London, the parade was of secondary importance to the harbour illuminations and fireworks.⁴² The newspaper reported that the best illumination in the city itself were at the Sydney Town Hall, and mirroring the media involvement of the event in London, The *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Daily Telegraph*, and *Star* Offices, the three biggest newspapers buildings in town were all illuminated. The streets of Sydney were packed with people until ten o'clock and pedestrian progress was difficult. The *Mercury* in Hobart reported a similar crush there: 'After the procession from the Town hall had crossed Murray Street there was a general rush to Liverpool Street, which was

³⁹ *Mercury*, 23 June 1897, p. 3. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 June 1897, p. 17.

⁴⁰ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7.

⁴¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 June 1897, p. 16.

⁴² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 June 1897, p. 16-17.

immensely crowded from the intersection of Barrack Street to the Domain.' The correspondent for the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* captured the difficulties of the night in Sydney:

Ladies with half-a-dozen children hanging about them ploughed their weary ways through the slushy streets, and ever and anon the wail went up, "Where are you, Johnny?" or "Come here, you little imp," as the hopeful of the family got out of reach of the hands of its maternal relative, standing a good chance, in the seething throng, of being crushed to pulp or lost. All the streets were alike - and in every one of them were Hawkesbury District visitors, anxious to see all that was to be seen.⁴³

The most prominent Hawkesbury citizens had been invited to the festivities in the grounds of Government House, from which illuminated water craft could be seen below 'gaily decorated and lighted.' The names of these upstanding members of the community were duly noted for all the *Richmond and Windsor Gazette* readers to see: 'Hon W. Walker and Miss Walker, Mr W. Morgan, M.P., Mr J.C.L. Fitzpatrick and Mrs Fitzpatrick.'⁴⁴

At the end of the evening, between ten and eleven, there was what the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* called 'a stampede' to the railway-station and when the Richmond line train backed in:

...there was such a rush and a crush as beggared description, for the accommodation supplied was far from being up to the requirements of the occasion. Scores of passengers stood right through the trip to Windsor, and were rightly heartily glad when that station was reached. The train put up a record run - leaving Sydney at four minutes to 12 it reached Windsor, 34 miles, at 25 minutes

⁴³ *Mercury*, 23 June 1897, p. 3. *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 8.

past 2. Many of those who had to stand all this delay, and try to look pleasant meanwhile, swore that that was the last Record Reign celebration that ever they would attend, and we believe them.⁴⁵

While many town and district residents had paid a heavy price in money and frustration for choosing 'to seek amusement' in the busy metropolis of Sydney, others had stayed in the Hawkesbury. Festivities in Windsor for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee were on a much smaller scale but delivered with much enthusiasm.⁴⁶

The arrangements for the local celebrations had been made at a public meeting held a few weeks before 22 June when it was also decided to solicit subscriptions. A number of 'local gentlemen' volunteered to pay for 'amusements' for the children of the town on the big day, while local storekeepers committed to decorating their premises with flags. Their names were listed in the newspaper for posterity. Public, rather than anonymous, philanthropy was the rule rather than the exception. In Essendon, one of the poorest suburbs of Melbourne in 1897, details of an 'Entertainment for the Poor' was also duly followed by: 'These good things had been provided by Mrs R. Ovens, Mr A.E. Hulls, etc...'⁴⁷

In the town of Windsor the celebration began prior to Jubilee Day, on the Sunday 20 June. According to the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 'a very successful Church Parade to St Matthew's Church of England was held' on that day. The centerpiece of the Church Parade was, not surprisingly, again the military - in the form of the members of Windsor

⁴⁵ In Melbourne a similar scenes were described at Flinders Street Station after the day's festivities had concluded and the crowds tried to make their way back to outlying rural areas on special trains. *Age*, 23 June 1897, p. 5. *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7-9.

⁴⁶ Hobart, Brisbane, Melbourne and Adelaide newspapers all reported an influx of sightseers from around each colony coming to the capital for what they must have seen as a once in a lifetime event. This was an event that would be celebrated in a grander manner in a large city than in a small country town. *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7-9.

⁴⁷ *Argus*, 23 June 1897, p.9 & *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7-9.

and Richmond Companies under the command of Captain J.J. Paine (who was also the Mayor of Windsor), and Lieutenant B.H. Paine (presumably a relative). At 10.30 a.m. they marched, in uniform, along with the 3rd Regiment Band (under charge of Bandmaster Daley) from the School of Arts, through the town to the Church of England. The newspaper makes special note that there were other officers present: Major Bartlett, Captain Lamrock, and Lieutenant Hollborow, possibly because, like Captain Paine, they were also on the local Council. On reaching the church, which was already almost full, the military took up their positions in the front pews, whilst the band occupied seats near the choir. The service was opened by the singing of 'Before Jehovah's Awful Throne,' and during the morning 'Onward, Christian Soldiers,' and the 'National Anthem' were sung, the band and the organ supplying the music. The attendance of the military was also a feature of the service at St Paul's Cathedral in Melbourne on the preceding Sunday, and has already been noted, the service at St Andrews in Sydney.⁴⁸

Good music and good words were essential elements, as was public recognition of loyalty and personal contribution, to the success of the day. Mrs Eather presided at the organ. It was reported that a very impressive sermon was delivered by the Rev S.C. Fielding, in which he referred to the long and peaceful reign of Her Majesty, and that at the conclusion of the service, Mrs F. Onus sang 'The Holy City' in 'excellent voice.' Other, special thanksgiving services took place during the rest of the day, including a children's service in the afternoon, at the conclusion of which Diamond Jubilee prizes were distributed.⁴⁹

Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Congregational, and Wesleyan special services were also conducted on that Sunday, and it was noted that a special collection was made among the Presbyterian congregation, raising £3 12/6, for a local Home for Consumptives. All the services in Windsor included the 'National Anthem.' Similarly, further west in Bathurst

⁴⁸ At the St Paul's Cathedral service in Melbourne on the preceding Sunday was also dominated by a military presence. *Age*, 21 June 1897, p. 5. *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 9.

⁴⁹ There is not recorded exactly what was given to the children. The term 'prizes' is vague but were probably small, cheap commemorative items such as medals, etc... *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7.

New South Wales: 'The evening service in the Wesleyan Church was a patriotic one, the address by Revs. A.J. Webb and W. G. Taylor bearing upon the Queen's life and reign, special reference being made to her womanliness. A Miss James sang the solos in the patriotic hymns, and Miss Henlen sang "The King of Love my Shepherd is" and the solo in the anthem "As Pants the Heart." In the Baptist Church Pastor Worboys preached a stirring sermon on "The life story of our good Queen Victoria," laying special stress upon the splendid example set by the Monarch to her people in the performance of Christian duty.'⁵⁰

Back in Windsor, on Monday 21 June, the day before the official day of celebration, there was a procession of school children. It consisted of approximately 500 children from the different district schools, and once again was headed by the 3rd Regiment Band. The procession moved from its starting point in 'Mr Farlow's paddock,' Macquarie Street, along Bridge Street, and then into George Street and the park in the centre of the town. In the procession, which attracted 'some' sightseers, the children walked four abreast. On reaching the park, the procession made its way to the side nearest the Church of England, the driest part - after rain the previous day. The crowd 'numbering close upon 1000 by this time,' had been doubled by the arrival of families and other interested observers. The students were assembled by their respective teachers into neat rows and everyone sang 'God Save the Queen.' The scene was similar in Adelaide South Australia, where: '...the city was thronged from every suburb, for it was the Children's Jubilee. The children belonging to the Public Schools came in by cars and trains from 8 o'clock in the morning, and an immense mass of humanity poured into Victoria Square by 10 o'clock.'⁵¹

Exchanging the Captain's cap he sported the day before for the robes of civil office, Mr J. J. Paine, the Mayor of Windsor, in a reportedly 'well-delivered and neat address' to the

⁵⁰ *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*, 21 June 1897, p. 2. *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7-9.

⁵¹ *South Australian Register*, 23 June 1897, p.6. *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7-9.

children, told those gathered in front of him that they had been invited there on that day to take part in an entertainment to commemorate Queen Victoria's Record Reign. Although they all undoubtedly knew it, they were told once again by the Mayor that Her Most Gracious Majesty on the previous day had completed the longest reign of any British Monarch. They learned that the Queen, when taking the throne, was only a mere girl, as were some of those present, and from that day, 60 years ago, until the present, she had maintained 'a character of good womanhood.' The Mayor went on, asking what better lesson could be taught by Her Majesty than when she in her girlhood, on being crowned, said to her mother, 'Am I really Queen of this great country?' and asked for two hours to be left by herself that she might pray to Almighty God to give her wisdom and strength to carry out her duties responsibly. He also made the very significant point that they were joining with all her other loyal subjects, around Australia and the world, celebrating this milestone. And it was true, because at Mount Gambier, South Australia, the scene was almost exactly the same, but in their case the children had listened to quite a few more addresses to mark the occasion. There Rev. A.E.J. Ross, MA, told them that he: '...was sure that when they sang the National Anthem they would sing it with all their voices. They would always be proud of that day because they were subjects of Queen Victoria, a very good woman, and that they were members of the great British Empire over which she ruled.'⁵²

The Mayor of Windsor surely paused after his fable about Queen Victoria, to let the lesson sink in to the young minds. Then, for those who had still not grasped the relevance of the story to them, he went on to ask: Had she not well carried out those duties and wielded the sceptre all through her long reign? He answered for them, that during that time her people had become strong and her empire greater. He expressed his hope that the example set by Her Majesty would be followed by all those before him and that they would all grow up to be good men and women. He further hoped they would all enjoy themselves that day and

⁵² *Border Watch*, 23 June 1897, p. 2. *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 7-9.

that in years to come they would look back on the occasion and think of the day they had spent in Windsor celebrating their Queen. Finally, he also hoped aloud that the Queen would be spared for many years to enjoy her true and womanly life.⁵³ Following this oration the children sang the Doxology: '*Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen,*' after which they united in giving three hearty cheers for Queen Victoria.⁵⁴ This was followed, no doubt to the children's great relief, by games including: 'swings, May pole dances, foot racing, skipping competitions, and many other forms of athletic exercises....' No doubt a great day was had by all. Lunch was provided for each child as was what the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* called 'a small souvenir' at the end of the day.⁵⁵ There were no illuminations, that kind of show was beyond the resources of a small country town. Newspaper reports from the other Australian colonies, like the ones already quoted, show that similar scenes - large and small - were being enacted all across Australia that June, just as in Britain - loyalty and empire were in the air.⁵⁶ In Brisbane, the capital of the colony of Queensland, it was reported that:

This colony justified its name yesterday. Our reports of the metropolitan demonstrations and our telegrams from country centres make an end of doubt, if any existed, as to the general loyalty of Queenslanders. It would be utter nonsense to say that the people simply availed themselves of holiday festivities. If they had not desired to profess and glory in their attachment to the Sovereign and the

⁵³ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 8.

⁵⁴ The wording in English: 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.'

⁵⁵ Again there was probably a cheap mass produced medal or other small keepsake, many of which are still held in collections around the world. A number are held in Australia at the Powerhouse Museum and the State Library in Sydney, and at the Museum of Victoria in Melbourne. *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 26 June 1897, p. 9.

⁵⁶ See also 23 & 24 June 1897 issues of: *Brisbane Courier*, *Argus and Mercury*. They all provide listings of the diverse events on offer across Australia, but commemorative services, parades, decorations and illuminations are features mentioned consistently.

empire they would have carefully abstained from all participation in the celebrations.⁵⁷

Also present in the Australian colonial setting was commercial acumen and an eye for an advertising opportunity that we had seen in Britain. In Richmond, on the Hawkesbury, a local dentist came to the same conclusion about the selling value of the Queen as businesses, large and small had in the mother country: he was not about to let the opportunity slip to also cash in on Victoria's 'record reign.' Regularly spaced throughout the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* on 19 and 26 June were articles simply titled 'The Record Reign' detailing the goings on around the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee, locally and over seas. In a brilliant example of what we would nowadays call guerilla marketing, J. W. Allison, self-advertised 'Member of the Dental Association of NSW,' managed to slip one in among the other legitimate articles in the 19 June 1897 edition. In possibly a first for Australian marketing he cleverly disguised his advertisement as just another article about the Jubilee. It has a rather predictable heading for June 1897, 'The Record Reign,' the reader begins what appears to be another piece extolling the virtues of Victoria, but instead ends up with a quick history of dentistry:

When the Queen began to reign, it was not such an easy matter to get fixed up with artificial teeth as it is to day. In the olden time many 'sittings' were required, and some of the pieces when completed, were fearfully and wonderfully made; others were curious contrivances carved out of ivory, costing the wearer a hundred guineas or more, with doubtless any amount of discomfort and 'language' thrown in. Thank heavens for dental progress!⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Brisbane Courier*, 23 June 1897, p. 4.

⁵⁸ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 19 June 1897, p.14.

He continues on, at length, about specific advances in dentistry since the Queen took the throne in 1837 and then finishes off with: 'The increasing practice of Mr. ALLISON, the Richmond Dentist, and the many letters received by him, shows that his work gives general satisfaction.'⁵⁹ How many citizens among the readership were thus inspired by patriotism to deal with a persistent toothache is unclear.

Far away from the fun of Mr Allison and the Hawkesbury, in India, the second case study and the jewel in Britain's imperial crown, the atmosphere could not have been more different in the year of the Diamond Jubilee. It was a very bad year for the subcontinent. The Viceroy's celebrations in Simla, because of particular circumstances, were wisely kept very low key on 22 June 1897. In Calcutta, the local population was still recovering from a severe earthquake that had resulted in a high death toll. The buildings still standing in the city were so fractured that it was considered too dangerous to even fire a Jubilee salute for fear of bringing them down. Moreover, there was famine in Orissa, and the north west frontier was as unstable as ever with tribal warfare on the increase. If this was not bad enough, Bengal was a political mess; still a safe enough distance away from the Abode of the Little Tin Gods, in Simla, but close enough to cause sleepless nights for the more far-sighted sahibs.⁶⁰

Not surprisingly given all the troubles, the atmosphere in the city was subdued in June 1897. Nothing boisterous had been planned, only a few small Jubilee Parades and church services that were 'far from the pomp and circumstance that we had all expected,' wrote Walter Lawrence to a friend back in England.⁶¹ Surprisingly, they ended up being smaller in scale than even those of little Windsor in New South Wales. But it certainly would have

⁵⁹ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 19 June 1897, p.14.

⁶⁰ 'The Queen has sent a telegram expressing sympathy with the sufferers from the recent earthquake. It is feared that over 6000 lives have been lost.' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 21 June 1897, p. 2. See also: D. Judd, *The Lion and the Tiger: The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600-1947*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, Ch.6, p. 92.

⁶¹ W.R. Lawrence, *The India We Served*, Cassell & Company, London, 1928, p. 47.

been unwise, possibly inflammatory, to hold joyful celebrations in the wake of so many deaths and disasters.⁶² Indeed, for all the care that had been taken to mute the celebrations in the face of local suffering, they still became the occasion for political violence. On Jubilee evening 22 June 1897 the Governor of Bombay gave a banquet in his palace at Poona. According to Walter Lawrence, who was present that night, late in the evening two British officials, Mr Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst, were saluted into their carriage by a crimson-jacketed footmen and were driven away into the dark. They had hardly left the gates of Government House when a volley of shots rang out. When guards ran to the spot they found both men dead and those responsible gone.⁶³

Plague had been raging in and around Bombay. Rand and Ayerst were the Plague Officers in charge of Poona. They used troops to isolate people thought to have been in proximity to outbreaks and destroyed any house, shop, factory, possessions or goods that they felt might have been contaminated. Not surprisingly, they were disliked by most of the local population and hated by some who had been directly affected by their actions. The exact motivation and individual responsibility for their murder is, therefore, not difficult to determine. The Raj, however, was in no doubt that the deaths of Rand and Ayerst had a much wider significance. India was possibly on the brink of a major crisis. There had been plagues before and famines but now nationalism was also part of the equation. For several days before the Jubilee leaflets had been distributed freely in Poona and Bombay, accusing Queen Victoria of a lack of care for Indians and calling on them to boycott any events associated with her Diamond Jubilee. Three hundred million Indians, the leaflets stated, were living in slavery, diseased and half-starved. One leaflet made it clear that: 'Not even a demon would venture to celebrate his conquests in a time of famine, plague and

⁶² *Aberdeen Journal*, 24 June 1897, p. 4 & *Freeman's Journal*, 23 June 1897, p. 6. See also: D. Judd, *The Lion and the Tiger*, 2004, Ch. 6, p. 92.

⁶³ W.R. Lawrence, *The India We Served*, Cassell & Company, London, 1928, pp. 58-59.

earthquake.⁶⁴ What is particularly interesting about this protest is that it was directly addressed to Queen Victoria back in Britain and not to her local administrators. The English language newspapers in India did not cover the story of Ayerst and Rand in as much detail as was probably warranted, but Anglo-Indians could see the subtext of the limited story they received and it spelled seditious conspiracy. The British press at home, however, did cover the incident in great detail. A few weeks later the murderer was caught and hanged, but local uneasiness remained. India, not just Poona, remained on edge during the Jubilee summer of 1897 and understatement was considered the appropriate response.⁶⁵ It was generally agreed that the way things ended up could have been worse.

The inhabitants of Dublin Castle, the seat of power in Ireland and the third case study of that Diamond Jubilee summer, were equally on edge as the administrators in India. They too would dearly have loved to celebrate, wave the flag and beat the drum, even if it was only to show that they were still firmly in charge.⁶⁶ However, it was difficult to mount a magnificent military pageant when the soldiers and sailors necessary for the spectacle were, in reality, a very edgy army of occupation just like their Indian Army counterparts, on guard rather than on display. Unable to leave their camps across Ireland, all they could do was uneasily watch on as most other parts of the empire celebrated during June 1897.⁶⁷ Lord Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief of Ireland, was away in London and at the head of the Jubilee Procession.⁶⁸ There was not even a cruiser left in Dublin Bay to fire a signal

⁶⁴ *Manawatu Times*, 9 July 1907, p. 2. This article, tracing the roots of Indian unrest in 1907, goes into great detail about the troubles in India during the Diamond Jubilee year. An excellent example of how empire troubles were news and concerns not just in London, but even on the edges of empire.

⁶⁵ *Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough*, 23 June 1897, p. 3; *Western Gazette*, 25 June 1897, p. 8 & *Lincolnshire Echo*, 26 June 1897, p. 4. See also: W.R. Lawrence, *The India We Served*, 1928, pp. 58-59.

⁶⁶ *Falkirk Herald*, 19 May 1897, p. 7. The article reported a special meeting of the Corporation of Dublin held on Monday 4 May, to organize 'appropriately LOYAL' celebrations of the Jubilee in the city.

⁶⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 June 1897, p. 6.

⁶⁸ *London Standard*, 19 June 1897, p. 6. After relinquishing his Indian command and becoming KCG and receiving the Star of India during 1893, Lord Roberts two years later was relocated to Ireland as C-in-C of British forces, based at the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham. He was made Field Marshall in 1895. He left Dublin for London in June 1897 to take part in the parade and to receive the Order of St Patrick.

salute on 22 June. The cruiser *Melampus* and the gunboat *Gossamer* had both sailed away from Kingstown for the Spithead Review.⁶⁹ They did make an effort, however, even if all that could be mustered in Phoenix Park on Jubilee Day were the 3rd Hussars and some other assorted infantry. 'As a military display,' said the *Irish Times*, 'the review cannot be considered a success - the paucity of troops - threw more or less a damper on the proceedings.'⁷⁰ The Administration, left behind, also tried to offer other Jubilee standards: a free meal for the poor, flag-saluting, and even some illuminations. There were bicycle races that drew an uncharacteristically positive comment in the press. According to the *Irish Times*, 'then the bicycle races...nothing finer could have been witnessed. Many of the performances established records for pluck and endurance.'⁷¹ On the positive side, there was much praise for a special Jubilee Ode from Ireland that was recited, by those of the Ascendancy, at a thanksgiving service at St Patrick's Cathedral:

Thou rulest supreme, as no other,
 Queen, Empress and Woman, in One -
 Our Sovr'n, our Lady, our Mother,
 Like whom there is none!⁷²

'Everything was orderly and peaceable' on Jubilee Day reported the newspapers. The next day was quite different matter. Everything seemed normal on 23 June 'till about half-past nine o'clock, and then a slight break was made in the smoothness of the proceedings.' A crowd gathered, and marched down Dame Street. They shouted, beat cans, sang, yelled out anti-British slogans and hoisted a black flag at half mast on the flagpole on top of the City Hall. Windows were then smashed and the predictable fight with the police took place. The

⁶⁹ *Nation*, 19 June 1897, p. 6 & *Irish Times*, 18 June 1897, p. 3.

⁷⁰ *The Irish Times*, 23 June 1897, pp. 1-2.

⁷¹ *Irish Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 4 & *Nation*, 23 June 1897, p. 3.

⁷² *Anglo Celt*, 23 June 1897, p. 3 & *Irish Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 1, and a number of other Irish regional newspapers.

action then shifted to The National Club, the home of Irish disaffection, with stones raining down from the roof on police below. The best shopping streets in Dublin, Henry and Mary Streets, were then targeted, broken glass was everywhere. The city exploded, there were suddenly fights everywhere. The Jarvis Street hospital alone, received two hundred new patients on the day.⁷³

Prominent Irish nationalists in Dublin, including Maude Gonne, were soon in action, on soapboxes across the city. Gonne demanded that Irish political prisoners in England be released. The police were booed and hissed by crowds as they made their way from trouble spot to trouble spot. At 10.30 p.m. a mock procession took place in Dublin's streets. This Jubilee Counter-Procession was very different to the one in London and others that had been held across the empire. It featured a coffin draped with a skull and crossbones flag which was marched towards Dublin Castle to the beat of a muffled drum. The first banner was standard Jubilee fare and had the words 'The Record Reign' on it, the next however, far from a conventional Jubilee message was simply: 'Starved to Death.' The crowd was sympathetic to the overall message and were quiet as it passed, until somebody started playing 'The Boys of Wexford.' Then all the electric illuminations suddenly went out.⁷⁴

The *Irish Times* gave voice to a substantial Anglo-Irish, pro-royal section of the population who were disgusted that Ireland was now 'the scorn of the British Empire.' When a number of Dubliners were charged the next day with disorderly conduct the magistrate talked of a city 'in a state of siege.' On the other side, at the coroner's court an inquest into

⁷³ 'Outrages in Dublin,' *Evening Telegraph*, 24 June 1897; p. 3; 'Riot in Dublin,' *Barrier Miner*, 25 June 1897, p. 4 & *Irish Times*, 23 June 1897, 25 June 1897, pp. 1-3. As can be seen from this small selection, there was negative press coverage in other parts of the empire.

⁷⁴ 'Great Riot in Dublin. Attempt at Mock Funeral. Two Hundred Casualties,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 June 1897, p. 4; *Belfast News-Letter*, 24 June 1897, p. 5 & 'Great Riot, National Shame,' *Irish Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 2.

the death of a woman killed during the disturbances degenerated into a nationalist demonstration, with coroner, police, jury and the public gallery exchanging insults.⁷⁵

The news from the Irish provinces was not any more reassuring. There had been disloyal scenes at Cork and Waterford, and at Limerick.⁷⁶ The organizers of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations in Dublin had managed to get out an Irish Honours List, conduct a thanksgiving service, and at least hold a very popular bicycle race, before all hell broke loose. Things could have been a lot worse here too of course, but nobody could pretend that the Irish in 1897 had celebrated Victoria's record reign in any mood of loyal conciliation. Where there was not physical opposition and violence in Ireland there was often mischievous parody instead. The Irish nationalist's most potent weapon was quite often humour, and they surpassed themselves in 1897. The number of Irish celebrities that turned out to also be having a Jubilee in that year was astounding. The fiftieth anniversary of the death of Daniel O'Connell was celebrated with innumerable High Masses.⁷⁷ It turned out to be the thirteenth centennial of the death of St Columba, and this too was commemorated, in June 1897, with great ceremony. Numerous Catholic clergy celebrated jubilees of their entering the Lord's service, with parish feasts and Episcopal messages. There was apparently as much interest in Ireland in 1897 about the Golden Jubilee of Canon O'Hanlon of Sandymount, than there was over the Diamond Jubilee of Alexandrina Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.⁷⁸

The Irish republican and socialist James Connolly, used the anniversary of Victoria's rule in 1897 as an occasion to reflect far more seriously, however, on Ireland's future.⁷⁹ He saw

⁷⁵ *Aberdeen Journal*, 26 June 1897, p. 5; *London Standard*, 26 June 1897, p. 3 & *Irish Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 3.

⁷⁶ *Morning Post*, 25 June 1897, p. 5; *London Daily News*, 25 June 1897, p. 2 & *Irish Times*, 23 June 1897, p. 1.

⁷⁷ *Nation*, 23 June 1897, p.2; See also: C.C. O'Brien, *Ancestral Voices: Religion and Nationalism in Ireland*, Poolbeg Press Ltd., Dublin, 1994, p. 58.

⁷⁸ *Meath Chronicle*, 21 June 1897, p.3 & *Anglo Celt*, 20 June 1897, p. 4. See also: C.C. O'Brien, *Ancestral Voices*, 1994, p. 59.

⁷⁹ D. Nevin, *James Connolly: A Full Life*, Gill & MacMillan, Dublin, 2005, pp. 11-12.

socialism and separation from Britain as the only answers for future peace and an end to the Irish problem, for both sides:

An Irish Republic would then be the natural depository of popular power; the weapon of popular emancipation, the only power which would show in the full light of day all these class antagonisms and lines of economic demarcation now obscured by the mists of bourgeois patriotism. In that there is not a trace of chauvinism. We desire to preserve with the English people the same political relations as with the people of France, or Germany, or of any other country; the greatest possible friendship, but also the strictest independence. Brothers, but not bedfellows. Thus, inspired by another ideal, conducted by reason not by tradition, following a different course, the Socialist Republican Party of Ireland arrives at the same conclusion as the most irreconcilable Nationalist. The governmental power of England over us must be destroyed; the bonds which bind us to her must be broken.⁸⁰

He was not the only prominent Irishman to use the Jubilee to publicly make his dissatisfaction known to the British. Dissent was visible in the heart of London on Jubilee Day, in the Parliamentary stand next to Westminster Bridge a large gap in the seats showed for all to see just how many Irish MPs refused to participate in the festivities.⁸¹ Even though this was a moment of Irish political hiatus, still the anger of the people could be seen as it slowly gathered strength, and manifested itself in actions of protest both peaceable in London and militant on the streets of Dublin. Their reaction to Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the empty seats in London and rioting in Dublin, showed quite clearly that the Irish had almost had enough. As Queen Victoria noted herself, 'So different

⁸⁰ J. Connolly, 'Socialism and Irish Nationalism,' *L'Irlande Libre*, Paris, 1897, p. 3.

⁸¹ *Daily Mail*, 23 June 1897, p.6; *Northampton Mercury*, 25 June 1897, p. 2 & *Dundee Courier*, 22 June 1897, p. 9.

from the Scotch, who are so loyal,' and as the very far away *Rhodesia Herald* commented in a headline reporting the Irish MPs' boycott, it was 'Just Like Them.'⁸²

Sitting in the stands on 22 June 1897, contemplating the empty seats left by Irish MPs, were still many royalist politicians. Irish republicanism was only a distant problem on this day of days, one that they could take their time to fix, now that they no longer had to contend with the irritation of republicanism at home. 'Republicanism is dead in England; Socialism, as we know it on the Continent, dare not lift up its head in this England of ours,' reported the provincial *Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald*, only days before the London parade; while another provincial newspaper, the *Bucks Herald*, went even further in its 26 June edition, stating that 'Any Republican who had dared do anything of that sort would have been torn to pieces. Happily there was not a jarring note over the whole long line of the route.'⁸³

There were others in the world, however, who did sympathise with Irish nationalism in 1897. Since the Great Famine the Irish had champions everywhere. Especially in America, hundreds of thousands of Irish emigrants and their descendants soured Anglo-American relations at every opportunity.⁸⁴ Irish-American comments on the Diamond Jubilee were as bitter as the mock funeral procession had been in Dublin. The English were honouring not the Queen but themselves, said the *Sun* in New York, the chief publication of Irish-America. They only kept the sovereign as a 'theatrical accessory of traditional fetish,' the editorial continued, the implication clearly that such a kingdom was necessarily hostile not merely to Irish rebels but to a republic like the United States as well.⁸⁵

⁸² *Rhodesia Herald*, 23 June 1897, p. 4.

⁸³ C. Williams, *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2004, pp. 189-202.

⁸⁴ O. McGee, *The IRB: The Irish Republican Brotherhood from The Land League to Sinn Féin*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2005, pp. 92-94.

⁸⁵ *The Sun*, 21 June 1897, New York, p. 2.

Ireland and India, with their limited public disorder, were exceptional in June 1897. Across Britain and the empire, by the time of the Diamond Jubilee, the Queen was firmly and positively identified with what was good about Britain and its' empire. Republicanism had been shunted off into a siding, even by the supporters of the growing labour and socialist movements.⁸⁶ It was obvious to politicians like Joseph Chamberlain and William Gladstone, in the summer of 1897 that there was more than enough power and charisma in the end-of-century royal image to hold British and colonial imaginations for many years to come.⁸⁷ Great Queen Victoria riding through the streets of London surrounded by her brilliant collection of loyal colonial manhood was the image committed to history. It is easy to find even today, while any record of the dissent of that year has to be searched for.

Back in 1891 Princess Louise had thought that it was time for her mother to abdicate: 'The people are learning to do without her and the government tell her very little, and she is reducing the future role of the Prince of Wales to a nonentity.'⁸⁸ Keir Hardie, the Scottish socialist and labour leader, thought in 1887 that the very exposure which the Golden Jubilee offered would de-mystify the throne. 'Royalty to be a success should keep off the streets. So long as the fraud can be kept a mystery, carefully shrouded from popular gaze it may go on ... The light of day is too much for the mummeries on which the throne rests.'⁸⁹ Both were very wrong. Thanks to the celebration of her Diamond Jubilee of 1897 as a family gathering of empire, as much in diverse colonial settings as in London, the image of Queen Victoria made another leap into what was now the realm of world wide celebrity. A position never before achieved by a Head of State. She had come to represent so much in the minds of so many that life without her was unthinkable.

⁸⁶ *Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald*, 19 June 1897, p. 5 & *Bucks Herald*, 26 June 1897, p. 6.

⁸⁷ D. Judd, *Radical Joe: Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, H. Hamilton, London, 1977, p. 54 & R. Jenkins, *Gladstone*, Pan, London, 2002, p. 345.

⁸⁸ Quoted in: J.M. Packard, *Victoria's Daughters*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1998, pp. 277-278.

⁸⁹ *Belfast News Letter*, 26 June 1897, p. 7 & also quoted in: K. Hardie, in, F. Reid, *Keir Hardie: The Making of a Socialist*, Croom Helm, London, 1978, p. 85.

Part Two:

'No one ever told me that grief felt so like fear.' C.S. Lewis



Figure 16. 'In Memoriam Queen Victoria,' a commemorative plate from 1901, in the Author's personal collection.

5. The Queen is Slowly Sinking

According to Cecil Rhodes, being born 'British' was to win first prize in the lottery of life.¹ Never must that have seemed truer than on the streets of London in the summer of 1897. However, all was not as it seemed. The Britain Victoria reigned over in her final years was a place where change was seething beneath the surface and the corridors of finance and politics may have been paved with gold, but a short way beyond them could easily be found stupefying poverty and social inequity comparable to the worst in Europe.² In the years that immediately followed the Diamond Jubilee class struggle began to interfere with smoothly running domestic political machinery, and foreign events contrived to command the public's attention.

Kipling's Diamond Jubilee poem 'Recessional' unlike most others looked to the future rather than the past, to a new world waiting to emerge, an uncertain world in which old values and accepted ways would no longer count:

God of our fathers, known of old -

Lord of our far far-flung battle line

Beneath whose awful hand we hold

Dominion over palm and pine -

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,

Lest we forget - lest we forget!³

¹ Rhodes. There is a debate about whether Rhodes or Kipling was responsible for its first use, but both are recorded as having used it. See: E. Knowles, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999.

² The newspapers at the turn of the century were full of stories about the disparity between rich and poor and the direct link of poverty to crime. See: *Illustrated Police News*, 15 December 1900, p. 9 & M. Paterson, *A Brief History of Life in Victorian Britain*, Constable & Robinson, London, 2008, pp. 32-51.

³ R. Kipling, 'Recessional,' *Rudyard Kipling's Verse*, Macmillan, London, 1897.

In 1898 the government was still run by aristocrats, some with old money, others with new money generated from dark satanic mills. They were still on the main stage, but socialism was now in the wings. Britain's industrial and commercial might, forged in the middle years of the nineteenth century, was losing its competitive edge to Germany and the United States. Warnings were being issued by 1901 that Britain's education system was failing to deliver the right skills: '...this country will have to apply itself more assiduously to the work of true elementary education if we do not wish to take a back seat in trade, commerce and prosperity,' lectured the *South Wales Daily News*.⁴ On the high seas, long uncontested British territory, an expansionist Germany was challenging for control. While on the streets at home, the 'New Woman' was making her presence felt in smart society: she smoked, she argued, and even wanted the right to vote.⁵ After their domination of the Diamond Jubilee year the old order seemed to be giving way, and was now somehow less important in this new age:

The tumult and the shouting dies;

The captains and the kings depart:

Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,

An humble and a contrite heart.

Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,

Lest we forget - lest we forget!⁶

Such things bothered intellectuals, but did not seem to trouble the man in the street or the popular imagination. The passage from the 19th century to the 20th century was welcomed

⁴ *South Wales Daily News*, 23 January 1901, p.5. See also *Western Mail*, 3 July 1899, p. 4 & *Leeds Mercury*, 23 January 1899, p. 3.

⁵ A. Richardson & C. Willis, *The New Woman in Fiction and Fact: Fin-de-Siècle Feminisms*, Palgrave, London, 2001, pp. 39-41.

⁶ R. Kipling, 'Recessional,' *Rudyard Kipling's Verse*, Macmillan, London, 1897.

on a wave of optimism and patriotism, Britannia was still mighty. As the *Daily Express* triumphantly announced in January 1900, 'The empire, stretching round the globe, has one heart, one head, one language, one policy.'⁷

For other minds, however, the turn of the century was more like the end of the world than the end of an age.⁸ 'The times are strange and evil,' declared the classics scholar J.W.

Mackail in a lecture in 1900:

To those who hope for human progress, the outward aspect of the time is full of profound discouragement. Compared with 50 years ago, there is a general loss of high spirits, of laughter and the enjoyment of life. We see all around us how vainly people try to drown in increasing luxury and excitement the sense that joy and beauty are dwindling out of life; with what pitiful eagerness they dress themselves up in pretended enthusiasms which seem to bring little joy to the maker or the user. The uneasy feeling is abroad that the nineteenth century, which has done such wonderful things, and from which things so much more wonderful were hoped, has been on the whole a failure. Fifty years ago, men's minds were full of ideals. Now cinder heaps smoulder where there once were beacon fires...⁹

There was one constant in people's lives, Queen Victoria: the symbol, the embodiment, the guarantee, of stability and continuity. While she sat on the throne, the future held no fears. Family and empire, duty and decorum, the 'widow of Windsor' knew what was right.

⁷ *Daily Express*, 2 January 1900, p. 2; *Freeman's Journal*, 16 December 1899, p. 4 & *London Daily News*, 24 July 1900, p. 3.

⁸ S. West, *Fin de Siècle: Art and Society in an Age of Uncertainty*, Overlook Press, New York, 1994, pp. 56-59. See also: M.A. Allison, *Wandering Between Two Worlds: Middleness in Victorian Literature and Culture*, University of California, Berkeley, 2007, pp. 18-20.

⁹ Mackail's lecture is quoted in some detail as an example of concerns at the turn of the century, in: S. Hynes, *Edwardian Occasions*, Routledge & Kegan, London, 1972, p. 78.

Victoria had become a living legend. No monarch, before and probably since, has surpassed the mass affection, some would say love that she inspired in her old age.

So when Queen Victoria's death came, as it inevitably had to, it still came as an immense shock that unsettled Britain and the empire to a degree that now seems inconceivable. She was an old woman, in her eighties, and yet reading newspapers and diaries at the time it was as though no one had really contemplated the end of her reign. It had lasted so long that it seemed like it would go on forever, the very stability of British life depending on it.

As the final days of her life played out it was business as usual for Victoria. On Monday 14 January 1901 the Queen, in residence at Osborne House her estate on the Isle of Wight, was oblivious to the fact that she was performing what would be the last official duty of her sixty-three-year, eight month, twelve-day reign, the longest in the thousand-year history of the monarchy. On that day she honoured Lord Roberts, the empire's pre-eminent soldier. Ill, she nevertheless rose to both the occasion and the demands expected of her. Only her doctors knew that Victoria's life could now to be measured in days, perhaps even in hours.

It is of no small significance that in her final years Victoria was a monarch at war and that her last important visitor was General Roberts who had until a few weeks before been the leader of Victoria's armies in South Africa, and the main weapon with which she fought her foes. 'Our Bobs' was his affectionate nickname and his career was marked by a steady progression from distinction to distinction. For his successes the Queen invested him with the title Sir Frederick Roberts, Baronet. Kipling, gave him something still greater, fame in a jingle whose silly words swept England:

Then 'ere's to Bobs Bahadur-

Little Bobs, Bobs, Bobs!

Pocket-Wellin'ton an' arder -

Fightin' Bobs, Bobs, Bobs!

This ain't no bloomin' ode,

But you've 'elped the soldier's load,

An' for benefits bestowed,

Bless yer, Bobs!¹⁰

His career in India, followed in the mid-nineties by a command in Ireland, earned him in 1892 a peerage-as Baron Roberts of Kandahar and, three years later, a Field Marshal's baton.¹¹

The audience with his sovereign was the Field Marshal's second in less than two weeks. On New Year's Day 1901, Victoria had visited a military hospital on the island to meet a group of injured soldiers recently returned from the fighting in South Africa, and, the next day, the monarch had followed up this visit by receiving her most illustrious soldier at her home. During that visit, Roberts had been greeted by the cheering islanders like a conquering hero. A much more sedate, private, welcome attended him this time. On 14 January at Trinity Pier in East Cowes, Princess Beatrice - the Queen's youngest daughter, stood in as her mother's official greeter. (Figure 17.) After their carriage passed under a triumphal arch outside Osborne, specially commissioned for the occasion by the Royal Household, they entered the estate itself, where Field Marshal Roberts met with what he termed 'a warmhearted welcome' from his sovereign 'whose strength had clearly waned' in the two weeks since his previous contact with her.¹²

¹⁰ R. Kipling, 'Bobs', *Rudyard Kipling's Barrack-Room Ballads*, Macmillan, London, 1896, p. 6.

¹¹ *Manchester Evening News*, 4 January 1896, p. 5. See also: B. Farwell, *Eminent Victorian Soldiers: Seekers of Glory*, W.W. Norton, New York, 1985, pp. 61-63. See also: A. Wessels, (ed.), *Lord Roberts and the War in South Africa 1899-1902*, Sutton Publishing, Stroud, 2000.

¹² *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 15 January 1896, p. 4. See also: W.H. Hannah, *Bobs: Kipling's General: Life of Field Marshal Earl Roberts of Kandahar VC*, Leo Cooper, London, 1972, pp. 52-54 & W. Jerrold, *Lord Roberts Of Kandahar, V.C.*, Kessinger, Whitefish, 2007.

THE GRAPHIC

AN ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

Published on a Thursday

SATURDAY, JANUARY 13, 1901

PRINTED BY THE GRAPHIC CO. LTD.



THE RETURN OF LORD ROBERTS: A ROYAL WELCOME ON THE 'ALBERTA' OFF COWES.
DRAWN BY FRANK CHAMBERLAIN

Figure 17. 'The Return of Lord Roberts. A Royal Welcome on the Alberta off Cowes.' *Graphic*, 12 January, 1901.

For fifteen months, Britain had been bleeding in a distant southern African cluster of colonial possessions and semi-posessions and this played heavily on Victoria's mind. The enemy was shockingly inconsequential, an unruly mob of alien farmers whom the British had expected to put down with the expenditure of little effort. *The Times* summed up the struggle's insignificance in an acid observation that the war seemed to have 'begun at teatime,' the nation clearly having expected that it would end by dinner.¹³

¹³ *The Times*, 13 January 1900, p.1; *Morning Post*, 23 August 1900, p. 2 & *Evening Telegraph*, 19 July 1900, pp. 4-5.

Convention-bound inefficiencies, lack of preparedness, poor generalship and early unwillingness to take their Boer adversaries seriously got the Queen's forces off to a miserable start when the conflict began in 1899. But, by the beginning of 1901 the weight of numbers had turned the struggle in Britain's favour. Troops who had only recently traded in their scarlet tunics for the more utilitarian khaki drill came to understand what had to be done to defeat a dedicated enemy. Caging the Boers' women and children into festering 'concentration' camps in which twenty-thousand had by this time already died proved effective against Kruger's onslaughts but it horrified the watching world. Europe, largely in sympathy with the Boer cause, a stance undergirded by antipathy to British arrogance and strength, bitterly reproached Britain while at the same time ignoring the Boer crusade to condemn black Africans to slavery, exile, or worse.¹⁴

Despite the development of new media technologies, reporting and recording of this Anglo Boer War was still dominated by the written word and the daily newspaper, both in Britain and around the world. The growing circulation of the *Daily Mail*, the establishment in 1898 of an Imperial Penny Post which made it possible for letters to be sent virtually anywhere in the empire and the extensive use of the telegraph, meant that this war was reported in a new manner and on a new scale.¹⁵ Victoria, along with everyone else, read a number of papers daily for news of the war.

Field Marshall Roberts, as well as being one of the Queen's favourites, was also a cooperative and accessible friend of the press. He knew the power of the media and already had personal experience of how it could create and destroy reputations. He had won fame as an imperial hero during his march from Kabul to Kandahar during the Afghan Wars. In South Africa he had a reputation for relaxed press conferences and

¹⁴ M. Meredith, *Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa*, Simon & Schuster, London, 2007, pp. 522-523, & T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 4th ed., University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1991, pp. 191-193.

¹⁵ R. Pound & G. Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, Cassell, London, 1959, pp. 193-286 & M. Meredith, *Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa*, Simon & Schuster, London, 2007, p. 63.

allowed journalists access and freedom of movement behind British lines that war correspondents could only dream of today. He liked publicity and was not above making his own. Journalists who sent their exclusive reports back to Britain sometimes found that Roberts' own report had beaten them. Like Victoria he was big news, but unlike her his image in the media was largely self-maintained and self-constructed. All the major London and imperial dailies made much of his popularity among his men and his personal loss when his son was killed in action during the war. Roberts' use of the mass media can be clearly seen in the expert way he stage managed the press coverage of his arrival into captured Pretoria on 5 June 1900.¹⁶

Willem Leyds, the South African Ambassador to Europe was also greatly aware of the power of the press and encouraged anti-British newspaper coverage wherever and whenever he could. In one assessment, Leyds 'was to cause almost as much embarrassment to Queen Victoria as Kruger himself.' The British attributed much of their bad coverage in Europe to Leyds; and if his actual achievements were slight, with the message largely restricted to German and French satirical magazines, the short term impact of a well timed and placed cartoon could be devastating.¹⁷ However, it was an inexact science where a cartoon showing Kitchener and Joseph Chamberlain as devils stoking a cauldron with dead children which appeared in the German satirical magazine *Ulk* in 1901 drew as much criticism as praise. This was even more the case with an otherwise innocent-looking drawing dedicated to Leyds, 'Hero Worship' by Thomas Heine, which appeared in the German magazine *Der Burenkrieg*. The caption of this drawing read, 'English princesses decorate the youngest soldier in the British Army for having already, at the age of thirteen years, raped eight Boer women.' Even though the Boers in their home press routinely made fun of British royalty and personified their enemy as the British sovereign whom they

¹⁶ S. Badsey, 'War Correspondents in the Boer War,' J. Gooch, *The Boer War: Direction, Experience and Image*, Routledge, London, 2000, pp. 187-191.

¹⁷ *London Standard*, 29 January 1900, p. 5 & *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 5 January 1899, p. 4. See also: Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, pp. 203-204.

represented as a blowsy, bug-eyed harridan, it was not a popular image in most European publications and certainly avoided in all but the most radical German magazines. There are some, mainly French cartoons, lampooning Victoria but the hard messages and accusations were aimed at the politicians and generals not her.¹⁸

At home, painfully aware of the international opprobrium hurled at them, the Queen's subjects had come to regard the war as a fundamental test of national resolve. A single week in December 1899 brought Britain three disastrous defeats in quick succession, prompting ridicule from European neighbours at the spectacle of an empire held hostage to gangs of Bible-spouting, bandolier-draped farmer-warriors. When five months later the besieged town of Mafeking was finally relieved by General Sir Redvers Buller, thus giving Britain a modest victory at last, the entire nation let itself go in an unseemly but heartfelt celebration.¹⁹ Still the Boers hung on. Though British victories began to pile up in ever more impressive numbers: Modder River; Kimberley; Paardeberg, but the Queen's soldiers failed to finish off Kruger's forces. At the beginning of 1901, Victoria had already had to suffer the knowledge that three thousand of her soldiers were dead. She tried to put on a brave front by remarking in the face of such carnage that 'we are not interested in the possibilities of defeat,' but the monarch was appalled with the war, with the loss of so many courageous young soldiers, with its cost, and with the fact that Britain had become involved in the struggle in the first place, already the longest the nation had known in half a century.²⁰ After seeing the Queen, Arthur Balfour told his uncle, Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, that Victoria remained in 'wonderful good humour.'²¹ Yet the sovereign noted

¹⁸ R. Greenwall, *Artists and Illustrators of the Anglo-Boer War*, Fernwood Press, London, 1992, pp. 70 & 81-88 & J. Beaumont, 'The Times at War, 1899-1902,' in D. Lowry (ed.), *The South African War: A Reappraisal*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000, pp. 72-73.

¹⁹ *Graphic*, 26 May 1900, p.16 & *Illustrated Police News*, 10 February 1900, pp. 2-3. See also: T. Jackson, *The Boer War*, Channel Four Books, London, 1999, pp. 63-66.

²⁰ *London Daily News*, 6 October 1900, p. 3 & T.R.H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, (4th ed.), University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1991, pp. 197-198.

²¹ B.E.C. Campbell-Balfour, *Arthur James Balfour: First Earl of Balfour 1848-1905*, National Book Association, London, 1939, p. 29.

grimly in her own journal after Balfour's visit that the only thing she had to write of was the 'lists of casualties.'²²

At the end of December 1900, Field Marshall Roberts was replaced by General Kitchener. Though Roberts had wrought wonders in his few months in the veld, relieving the Boer siege of Kimberley, capturing Cronje, occupying Johannesburg and Pretoria and though he patriotically announced on his steamer voyage home that victory was at hand, final success still remained elusive. It would be left to Kitchener to hunt down the remaining twenty-five thousand Boer guerrillas.²³ For Roberts it was now time to drink tea with his sovereign and face the unenviable task of explaining to an incredulous Victoria why a half million of the best troops the empire could muster had been unable to completely defeat a tenth as many of the enemy.

So on Monday 14 January Victoria listened as Lord Roberts explained. The Queen's two youngest daughters, Louise and Beatrice (the Household censoriously called them the 'Petticoats') had tried to stop the Field Marshal's visit. This duo of middle aged Princesses had devised a stratagem to interrupt Lord Roberts' audience after twenty minutes. When they told the Queen what they planned to do, expecting quick approval, the sovereign vetoed the idea in as strong terms as her dwindling energy allowed. 'Do nothing of the kind,' Victoria ordered. 'I have a great deal to say to him which I must say and a great deal to hear from him. I shall want plenty of time and I won't be interrupted!'²⁴ After hearing Roberts admit that no final victory to the war was in sight: the Queen shrugged off the gloomy tidings and surprised the Field Marshal by bestowing on him two new honours that would elevate him into the most exalted ranks of her subjects. When her newly elevated

²² B. Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*, Harper and Row, New York, 1972, p. 63.

²³ D.D. Avant, *Political Institutions and Military Change: Lessons from Peripheral Wars*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1994, pp.102-129.

²⁴ This incident along with many others of the feminine power struggle within Victoria's household, especially as she grew older, is quoted in: E.F. Benson, *Queen Victoria's Daughters*, New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. 39-41.

guest was ushered out of the royal presence, the monarch was so weak from the strain of her meeting that it was all she could do to sit up in the wheelchair that took her back to her bedroom. A little rolling chair had been her main means of locomotion for some weeks. After that night, it would be the only way Victoria would ever again be moved.²⁵

Four days later on 18 January 1901, the Court Circular fuelled speculation about the Queen's failing mind and body with an announcement that 'The Queen has not lately been in her usual health.'²⁶ Over the following days, similarly guarded messages were released by the royal household. As oblique as the announcements were, they caused great interest and concern in Britain and the empire. In London, the *Daily Mail* described a 'terrible anxiety' hanging over the metropolis, and reported that 'stock markets were much depressed by the illness of the Queen.'²⁷ By 22 January, crowds were gathering outside Buckingham Palace and Mansion House to await bulletins about her condition.²⁸ Reflecting the anxious mood, the *Evening News* printed a poem entitled 'Waiting' in which, 'silent, with bated breath,' Victoria's 'stricken people wait.'²⁹ The afternoon bulletin from Osborne read dramatically 'The Queen is slowly sinking.'³⁰ The announcement, no doubt, caused those who heard it or read it to stop and think about the inevitability of death, possibly even their own eventual demise. The Victorians are known for their almost fanatical obsession with death. No one had been more fixated than the subject of the announcement, Queen Victoria herself.³¹ She had, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, elaborately mourned the death of

²⁵ J. Van Der Kiste, *Queen Victoria's Children*, The History Press, Gloucestershire, 2010, p. 127. See also: Benson, *Queen Victoria's Daughters*, p. 41.

²⁶ *The Times*, 19 January 1901, p. 9 & *Morning Post*, 19 January 1901, p. 5.

²⁷ *Daily Mail*, 22 January 1901, p. 5, *Evening Telegraph*, 22 January 1901, p. 5 & *Gloucester Citizen*, 22 January 1901, p. 3.

²⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 26 January 1901, p. 7; they were also reported gathering in other towns and cities across the United Kingdom: *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 23 January 1901, p. 6 & *Falkirk Herald*, 26 January 1901, p. 5.

²⁹ *Daily Mail*, 22 January 1901, p. 1; *Telegraph*, 22 January 1901, p. 1 & *The Times*, 22 January, p. 2.

³⁰ *Daily Mail*, 22 January 1901, p. 1 & *Gloucester Citizen*, 22 January 1901, p. 4, are just two examples typical of many other publications on the day.

³¹ G. St Aubyn, *Queen Victoria: A Portrait*, Sinclair-Stevenson, London, 1991, p. 343.

her own husband, Prince Albert, for 40 years, dressing in black every day and keeping their home exactly as it was the day that he had died. Each morning, servants would set out Albert's clothes, bring hot water for his shaving cup, clean his chamber pot and change the bed linens. The glass from which he took his last dose of medicine had stayed by his bedside for nearly four decades.³² A bust or painting of Prince Albert was included in nearly every photographic portrait of the royal family, prominently displayed among the children and relatives posing for the picture.³³

While our modern sensibilities may see Victoria's behaviour as odd and possibly peculiar, her extreme mourning was still considered acceptable within the limits of the complex web of the domestic funerary ceremonial of her time. Because of high mortality rates death was a regular occurrence in a large family and the cycle of mourning became a way of life.³⁴ These days, nearly eighty percent of deaths happen in hospitals, so we are removed from this process, but in London at the turn of the twentieth century, the average life span for middle to upper-class males was forty-four years, twenty-five for tradesmen and twenty-two for labourers. Fifty-seven of every one hundred children in working class families were dead by five years of age.³⁵ Death was a regular visitor to homes and streets.

Death in Victorian Britain was part of the everyday and because it took place in most cases at home. It was in this setting that it had to be dealt with. There were common rituals and those that were restricted to communities and even to families. As death often came suddenly, postmortem photography was common place to capture the image of the deceased. Others preferred death masks, which were considered almost essential if the

³² *Evening Telegraph*, 24 January 1901, p. 8. See also: G.K. Chesterton, *Varied Types*, Dodd, Mead, and Company, New York, 1909, p. 63.

³³ *Leeds Times*, 26 January 1901, p.10 & *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 28 January 1901, p.3. See also: Chesterton, *Varied Types*, p.64.

³⁴ J.S. Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, Batsford, London, 1993, pp. 87-89 & C. Arnold, *Necropolis: London and its Dead*, Pocket Books, London, 2007, pp. 205-223.

³⁵ S. Rothblatt, 'Nineteenth Century London,' in G. Brucker ed., *People and Communities in the Western World*, Volume II, The Dorsey Press, Homewood, 1979, pp. 200-205.

deceased had been famous in some way. Mourning jewellery was essential for the middle and upper classes and these items more often than not contained some of the deceased's hair either as a simple lock or fashioned into an elaborate pattern. Over time, households would build up quite a collection of memorial pieces that themselves transformed into memento mori.³⁶ The design, production, sale and repair of mourning clothing also became a major industry. At this time most clothing was made at home, however, mourning clothes were needed quickly when there was a death in the family. As a result, mourning garments became the first off-the-rack clothing for sale.³⁷

The everyday domestic bed was the focal point for Victorian families who were in the process of losing a loved one, whereas for us today it is the clinical setting of the hospice or the hospital. Typically, one or more grieving relatives would wait in the family bedroom and surround the bed waiting to hear the last words, signifying the transition from this world to the next. The Victorians valued last words. The use of narcotics was discouraged, to keep the dying person 'as lucid as possible' in the hopes of hearing a climatic testimony to the meaning of life.³⁸ These scenes were highly dramatised in much of the literature and artwork of the time. For example, Dickens devoted numerous chapters from his novels to prolonged deathbed watches and Victoria's last hours could easily have come from his pages.³⁹

It was a little after four on 22 January, when Sir James Reid, the Queen's personal physician, and the other physicians asked the family to come into the Queen's bedroom. Though Victoria had long ago made her wish known that she did not want a crowd to witness her

³⁶ J. Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 27-29 & J.S. Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, 1993, p. 89.

³⁷ C. Arnold, *Necropolis: London and its Dead*, Pocket Books, London, 2007, pp. 207-210.

³⁸ S. Barnard, *To Prove I'm Not Forgotten*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990, p. 4 & C. Arnold, *Necropolis: London and its Dead*, Pocket Books, London, 2007, pp. 205-223.

³⁹ T. May, *The Victorian Undertaker*, Shire Histories, Colchester, 2008, p. 12. & J. Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 34.

last moments, she was now beyond caring, or ordering; and the historic nature of the occasion meant this could safely be one time when the Queen's command could safely be ignored.⁴⁰ Every adult at Osborne must have been profoundly aware that what was transpiring in their presence represented a watershed in history, one of the dividing lines between epochs and a definable edge in Britain's existence. As mournful and trying as the scene was, none of those gathered around Victoria's bed would probably have chosen to be anywhere else at that moment. Before this climactic moment things had ebbed and flowed, as the *Christian World*, one of the few newspapers described in some detail as Victoria's last day on earth, was captured for posterity:

The story of the closing scene at Osborne is deeply affecting. During the previous night the Queen lay in her bedroom in the pavilion in a very restless state. None were admitted but the doctors, the dressers and two maids, who were under the superintendence of Nurse Soal, from the sanatorium on the estate.⁴¹

According to the *Telegraph*, in the early morning her physicians decided that she was hovering close to death and decided to call in all the members of the Royal Family within easy reach. The Bishop of Winchester was also summoned at this point.

Before noon there was a brief revival, and Her Majesty was able to recognise those who had been summoned to her deathbed. A pathetic incident at this moment was a request made by Her Majesty for one of the Royal servants, whose name she is said to have mentioned. Before her wish could be complied with she had relapsed again. While she slumbered the German Emperor and the Prince of Wales took a short stroll in the grounds.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 26 January 1901, p. 15 & *Morning Post*, 25 January 1901, p. 2.

⁴¹ *Daily Mail*, 25 January 1901, p. 3; *Christian World*, 24 January 1901, p. 1 & *Western Times*, 25 January 1901, p. 4

⁴² *Telegraph*, 24 January 1901, p. 1. See also: *London Standard*, 24 January 1901, p. 2 & *London Daily News*, 24 January 1901, p. 2.

At 3.30 in the afternoon she relapsed, and at five o'clock it was decided to again gather all the family to her death bed, and what a crowd it was:

In the bed-chamber were gathered the Prince of Wales and the Princess, who has been unremitting in her loving attendance; the Duke and Duchess of York, the latter having arrived just in time for the end; the Emperor William, representing as well his mother, the Empress Frederick, whose absence through her own serious illness is one of the tragedies of the time, the Prince and Princess Christian, Princess Victoria of Schleswig Holstein, the Duchess of Coburg, Princess Louise of Argyll, and the Duke of Argyll, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and their son and daughters, Princess Louise of Battenberg, and lastly, one on whom, of all the rest, perhaps, the blow will fall most cruelly, Princess Henry of Battenberg, her mother's constant and inseparable companion.⁴³

Finally, it was reported, Victoria left the world the way that she and many others would have wanted, 'suffering no pain and almost asleep,' and at the very end, exiting with one 'last quiet breath' completely at peace.⁴⁴

Queen Victoria's death was caused by cerebral failure but in the simplest terms, she died of old age. Truthfully, the wonder was that this almost entirely sedentary woman lived as long as she did. *The Lancet*, the leading medical journal of the time, reported that the secondary cause of Victoria's demise, after cerebral failure, were the 'private griefs' and 'public anxieties' she suffered, especially those like the tribulations of the war in South Africa that marked and plagued the last eighteen months of her life.⁴⁵ The *Daily Mail* was one of a

⁴³ *Christian World*, 24 January 1901, pp.1-2. See also: *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 24 January 1901, p. 5.

⁴⁴ *Morning Post*, 24 January 1901, p. 1 & *Pall Mall Gazette*, 25 January 1901, p. 3.

⁴⁵ *Lancet*, 26 January 1901, p. 276.

number of British newspapers at the time which gave 'overwork' as the reason for the Queen's death.⁴⁶ Insofar as people do not die of 'overwork' itself, especially when such exertions consist of reading, writing and holding audiences, such reports can be filed away as well-intended but not entirely accurate.

For a year, Victoria's health had been rapidly deteriorating. A lack of appetite had led to a dramatic weight loss, and eventually to a kind of starvation. A chronic-insomnia in the last few months further weakened her body's capacity to restore itself and the small strokes she suffered disabling her health generally. The move to Osborne in late December had been a physical trial for the debilitated Queen and in its wake she never regained the strength that had for so long sustained her. Only through the discipline ingrained through decades of self-control was she able to convince her ministers, family and visitors that she remained the same woman with whom they had dealt for so long.⁴⁷

In spite of the many infirmities and weaknesses that beset her at the end, Victoria's heart itself remained amazingly strong throughout her ordeal. Furthermore, her arterial system was, in her doctor's view, relatively little impaired for a woman of her age and the thoracic and abdominal organs remained in good functioning order. In the last hours, a 'respiratory insufficiency' of the Queen's lungs set in; although, again, her heart was strong. Most notable, in the case of Victoria's unique position, is the fact that she remained in full nominal charge of her constitutional powers until she died, suffering little from any kind of senile confusion. Victoria's most important organ, her brain, remained in good working order until the final few days of her reign. As *The Lancet* tastefully put it, 'the end came as a peaceful and natural conclusion to a long, full and beautiful life.'⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Daily Mail*, 22 January 1901, p.4. See also: 'OVERWORK THE CAUSE OF BREAKDOWN. The sudden and lamentable breakdown of the Queen's health was due entirely to overwork.' *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 24 January 1901, p. 2 & 'BREAKDOWN DUE TO OVERWORK.' *Gloucester Citizen*, 24 January 1901, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Telegraph*, 28 December 1901, p. 8 & *Daily Mail*, 27 December 1901, p.3.

⁴⁸ *Lancet*, 26 January 1901, p. 278.

When the Queen's death was announced on the evening of 22 January 1901 at the gates of Osborne it was very shortly news everywhere in the world that possessed a telegraph machine. Victoria was the first monarch whose death was known and mourned in almost the same instant the length and breadth of Great Britain. The residents of the village of New Pitsligo in remote north-east Scotland heard the news, via a telegram from the local paper, at the same time as it was being announced to the crowds outside the Mansion House in London. 'New Pitsligo joins the national mourning,' the village's correspondent wrote in a note published the next day in the *Aberdeen Journal*.⁴⁹ A nation was united in its grief in a way that had never been possible before. People wept openly in the streets. The sense of loss was immense but just as great seems to have been an underlying fear for the future. Things could never be the same again. 'God have mercy on us all,' said Princess Augusta, the Queen's cousin. 'God help us all,' echoed Princess May, 'The thought of England without the Queen is dreadful.'⁵⁰ Reflecting the national mood, the *Telegraph* asked its readers:

Who can think of the nation and the race without her?...How can our minds compass the meaning of what has happened? The golden reign is closed. The supreme woman of the world, best of the highest, greatest of the good, is gone. Never, never, loss like this. All that we have known is different now. All is altered ...⁵¹

Today we are cooler about monarchy, though the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, unleashed a sentimentality and a stampede of emotion that ran in the face of all the

⁴⁹ *Aberdeen Journal*, 23 January 1901, p.1 & *Falkirk Herald*, 30 January 1901, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁰ These thoughts of England without Victoria are all noted in: Alice, Princess, Countess of Athlone, *For My Grandchildren*, World, Cleveland, 1966, pp. 49-50.

⁵¹ *Telegraph*, 23 January 1901, p. 1; *Shields Daily Gazette*, 23 January 1901, p. 3 & *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 23 January 1901, p. 2.

supposed indifference.⁵² Her premature death caught public officials and the senior members of the royal family by surprise and astonished many. For royal watchers, it possibly should not have. When Caroline of Brunswick, who was also known in her time as the People's Princess, died under mysterious circumstances in 1821 officials were so afraid of rioting by her mourners that they planned her funeral procession so as to avoid central London. On finding out the news the crowd stampeded, throwing cobblestones and bricks leading to the death of four people and a hastily arranged new route for the funeral cortege through Hammersmith, Kensington, along Edgware Road, Tottenham Court Road, down Dury Lane, along the Strand and into the city centre before travelling out again and on to Harwich for her embarkation for Brunswick.⁵³

There are ostensible similarities too between the outpouring of public grief for Queen Victoria in 1901 and for Diana, Princess of Wales in 1997. As with Victoria, dissenting words about Diana were not heard to be spoken in the immediate aftermath of her death. For Diana's funeral, as with Queen Victoria's, a million people or more packed the streets of London and with both there was a sombre, almost eerie, silence as the coffin passed through the streets that became a part of many memories of both days. The expressions of love were also similar. 'Empress of Hearts' was one popular description of the Queen; nearly a century later it was echoed in the 'Queen of Hearts' for whom thousands laid down a vast carpet of flowers at the gates of Kensington Palace.⁵⁴ There, however, the comparisons end.

⁵² For further reading on this very complex topic see: J. A. Taylor, *Diana, Self-Interest, and British National Identity*, Praeger, Westport, 2000 & C. Denney, *Representing Diana, Princess of Wales: Cultural Memory and Fairy Tales Revisited*, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Madison, 2005.

⁵³ A. Plowden, *Caroline and Charlotte: Regency Scandals 1795-1821*, Sutton Publishing, Gloucestershire, 2005, p. 276.

⁵⁴ J. Davies, *Dianna a Cultural History: Gender, Race, Nation and the People's Princess*, Palgrave, Hampshire, 2001, pp. 5-7 & 9-10.

It is not what these events, separated by ninety-six years, tell us about the politics of monarchy that is important, or what they say about the relative merits of the individuals; it is the insight they provide into society then and now and people then and now. What connects the death of Victoria and the death of Diana is that, though these two women seem as different in their natures and their lives as it is possible to imagine, they were both symbols of their times. One was a revered woman who died of old age after a lifetime of, what was perceived by all to be, devoted duty, austere and awesome. In her people's minds she stood for family and faith, pride and patriotism. The other was a reckless, confused, unhappy girl who died young, self-indulgent and petulant, but loving and loved. She was adored by those who saw her as a symbol of angst-ridden self-expression and a relentless pursuit of individual happiness. A particularly interesting insight into this phenomenon is that of Jean Duruz and Carol Johnson who have looked at the often intense Australian reaction to the death of Diana and the place of gender politics in that process.⁵⁵ If it is true that we measure ourselves by those whose loss we hold dearest, then Victoria and Diana represent two contrasting sets of cultural values that nicely bookend the twentieth century. The present monarch Queen Elizabeth II's end must also come, and who knows how Britain, always fickle in its attitude to its royal family, will react? Perhaps it will be with the same sense of reverence and instant nostalgia that saw Queen Victoria to her grave. For a fortnight in 1901, Great Britain, and an entire empire, stopped in its tracks, all mesmerized by the mortality of one little old lady.

When Victoria passed away on that cold January evening the world immediately changed for the women of the royal household, who would now be expected to follow a complex code of mourning that would last for the next two and a half years. For twelve months and a day, they would wear plain, black dresses made of a drab, blended fabric, which covered the entire body, including a cap. A black ribbon would even be tied to their underwear.

⁵⁵ J. Duruz & C. Johnson, 'Mourning at a Distance: Australians and the Death of a British Princess' D. L. Steinberg, (ed.), *Mourning Diana: Nation, Culture and the Performance of Grief*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. 142-154.

After two months, two flounces could be added to the skirt. After one year, the women could switch their dress fabric back to silk coloured in lavender, mauve or violet. They really did not need bright colours anyway because they were also forbidden to socialise during this 28-month period.⁵⁶

It was, as can be seen, quite easy to recognise who was in mourning, and just how long they had been doing it. It is easy now to find such rituals amusing, even bizarre, but Victorian culture recognised death as an integral part of life and they maintained an honest understanding of loss and grief.⁵⁷ Modern society has a tendency to deal with death in more medical terms. We die differently now, and how death is represented has changed drastically too. Because of the importance of who had just died, what was happening in the way of mourning dress and decorum at Osborne was followed by many others in a show of solidarity in grief across Britain and the empire. Many who had never seen Victoria in their lives were already preparing for it.

All day on Tuesday 22 January, reported the *Telegraph*, the little dress shops and couturier salons on both sides of Bond Street in Mayfair had been unusually crowded with clients.⁵⁸ Everyone in London knew that once the sovereign's death was announced, the appearance of the entire city, especially the affluent westerly districts, would change drastically. The drapers and milliners of central London were in high demand by middle class families wanting to order mourning outfits for themselves and their children. Jay's London General Mourning Warehouse on a corner of Oxford Circus, enjoyed record sales. 1901 was a great year for all mourning houses offering what was now a vast range of 'black silks, crapes,

⁵⁶ 'Death the Last Taboo: Victorian Era,' <http://www.deathonline.net/remembering/mourning/victorian.cfm>, Australian Museum, 2008.

⁵⁷ However, it was seen as necessary by at least one newspaper to publish a guide to appropriate actions and attire in regard to the passing as someone so august as the Queen. *Evening Telegraph*, 25 January 1901, p. 3. See also: 'Death the Last Taboo: Victorian Era,' <http://www.deathonline.net/remembering/mourning/victorian.cfm>, Australian Museum, 2008 & C. Arnold, *Necropolis: London and its Dead*, Pocket Books, London, 2007.

⁵⁸ *Telegraph*, 23 January 1901, p. 1. & *London Standard*, 23 January 1901, p. 4.

paramattas, French merinos, Reps, Queen's Cords, Lustres, Baratheas, Coburgs, French de Laines'.⁵⁹ Jay's rushed in stock from wherever it could get it, offering materials at special prices. They in turn faced stiff competition from Robinson's Family Mourning Warehouse across the road, which was offering a pick up service in a brougham with two black-garbed fitters - 'for dispatch at a moment's notice, to the homes of clients'.⁶⁰

For the British working class population participation in the public mourning of Victoria was limited in most cases simply to pinning a small swathe of black material to a lapel or wearing a black arm band, simple things we are familiar with in mourning today. Much more was required of the middle classes and the requirements to do it properly could place substantial financial strains on families whose station in life required a much more public compliance. For those unwilling to risk losing that status of 'respectability' which anchored Victorian culture, ignoring the demands of the public mourning for such an important figure as Queen Victoria was unthinkable.⁶¹ While mourning requirements usually applied only to deaths within one's own family, the passing of Victoria dictated that proper mourning attire was to be worn by everyone even remotely connected with British and imperial officialdom or 'society.' By 1901, men's clothing had already reached a stage of sombreness approaching perpetual mourning but for women of middle to high status - as with the women already mentioned in the royal household - public mourning involved an extravagant, expensive, and almost total change in their appearance. According to Brett 'women were the main leaders of a households' mourning. It was women who as social

⁵⁹ H. Rappaport, *Magnificent Obsession: Victoria, Albert and the Death That Changed the Monarchy*, Hutchinson, London, 2011, pp. 298-300 & C. Arnold, *Necropolis: London and its Dead*, Pocket Books, London, 2007, pp. 204-206.

⁶⁰ Jay's even advertised a quick delivery service to out of London clients: *Manchester Evening News*, 25 January 1901, p. 1 & *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 24 January 1901, p. 1.

⁶¹ J.M. Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 21-22.

representatives of their husbands displayed to the world how sorrowing the family was by wearing clothes and following little rules that reflected this.⁶²

For these women in the upper social levels of British and imperial womanhood, mourning the Queen meant emulating the royal household and putting aside virtually every item of their ordinary clothing, and in its place adopting black for everything, excepting only the diamonds that would, to a limited degree, still be permissible. Charles Booth's well known social survey *Life and Labour of the People of London 1889-90* reported that just under 20% of the London population were at 'Lower and upper - middle class and above this level.' There are no exact figures on the level of compliance, however, according to both Jalland and Curl, there was near universal adherence to Victorian mourning, evidenced by the fortunes that were accumulated during this period by the mourning industry: burial insurance, burial clubs, and especially the central London Mourning Houses.⁶³ Strange quotes, Amy Pownall, an assistant in a Manchester pawnbrokers in the early twentieth century, who clearly recalls 'that however poor the bereaved were, they would invariably want to rig the entire family up in black clothing.'⁶⁴ Shiny fabrics, like satins or velvets, were taboo. Instead, to obtain the requisite lifelessness, the mourning industry used twilled and ribbed weaving techniques to break up the cloth's surface, thus eliminating any shine.⁶⁵ Bombazine, the near-habitual dress of the Queen, was one of the most popular of these fabrics; woven from a silk warp with a worsted weft, the technique gave bombazine its

⁶² M. Brett, *Fashionable Mourning Jewelry, Clothing & Customs*, Schiffer, New York, 2006, pp. 101-103. See also: P.W. Thomas, *Mourning Fashion History*, http://www.fashion-era.com/mourning_fashion.htm, 2008.

⁶³ J.S. Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, Batsford, London, 1993, p.26, P. Jalland, *Death and the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, and H. Rappaport, *Magnificent Obsession: Victoria, Albert and the Death That Changed the Monarchy*, 2011, p. 241.

⁶⁴ J.M. Strange, 'She cried a very little': death, grief and mourning in working-class culture, c.1880-1914, *Social History*, Volume 27, May, 2002, p. 157.

⁶⁵ L. Johnston, *Nineteenth Century Fashion in Detail*, V & A Publishing, London, 2009, p. 133. See also: P.W. Thomas, *Mourning Fashion History*, 2008.

characteristic matte surface, one that absorbed light rather than reflected it. A cheaper version of bombazine, made of cotton, was used for servants' clothing.⁶⁶

The *sine qua non* of mourning was crepe, endless yards and bolts and cases of it. It was used in every conceivable way to mark one's official sorrow, not only made into clothing, but covering furniture, doorways, carriages and everything else on which it could be flounced or draped or pinned to show proper respect for the dead. The black silk gauze-like fabric was further treated by a heat process to make it stiff and duller, attributes it would quickly lose in even the lightest drizzle. Courtauld's was the nation's leading crepe manufacturer, the firm's owners having grown enormously wealthy by cashing in on the national obsession.⁶⁷

The tiara of death was the white widow's cap, the mark that Victoria took for herself in 1861 and which she clung to until the day she died. The rule in the mourning section of household guides stated that women should wear the cap precisely for a year and a day after their husbands' death, but of course Victoria was not most women. The white muslin cap with its long streamers was often rigged up with a so-called Marie Stuart peak in front, the particular style that had been adopted by Victoria's daughter, Vicky.⁶⁸

Nearly every imaginable artefact fashionable women used was now offered for sale suitably adapted for mourning Queen Victoria. Perfume bottles and mirrors, sunshades, umbrellas and card cases, watches, blotting book and bookmarks were all darkened, edged or marked in funereal tones to acknowledge appropriate mourning of the dead Queen. Notepaper and envelopes were bordered in black. Victoria's personal stationery had been edged in

⁶⁶ 'Mourning and Funeral Usages', April 17, 1886 [electronic edition]. Harper's Bazaar, Nineteenth Century Fashion Magazine, <http://harpersbazaar.victorian-ebooks.com>, 2005.

⁶⁷ D.C. Coleman, *Courtaulds: an Economic and Social History; Vol. 1: the Nineteenth Century Silk and Crepe*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1969, pp. 276-280. See also: P.W. Thomas, *Mourning Fashion History*, 2008.

⁶⁸ M. Wheeler, *Heaven, Hell, and the Victorians*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994, p. 121 & 'Victorian Mourning Customs', Collier's Cyclopaedia 1901, <http://www.quiltstory.com/VMC.htm>, 2002.

black, double-wide for forty years. All the London dailies published black-edged editions to announce Victoria's death and again on the occasion of her funeral.⁶⁹

The reign of Queen Victoria was a period of sometimes massive change and the way Victorians mourned may have provided a more important motivation than just acting appropriately. It may also have provided, through an extension of domestic mourning rituals, some kind of continuity in a time of crisis. Science, especially the work of Charles Darwin, had shaken the religious certainties of earlier times. An industrial revolution had taken place and was still continuing and regularly changing the nature of daily life.⁷⁰ In this context the complex Victorian mourning process, both private and public, may have been more about the past than the present and more about loyalty to that past than being 'proper' in the present.

As word spread through the streets that Victoria was dead, the city of London - just as much as its people - changed its physical appearance. (Figure 18.) Theatres and music halls closed, shades were drawn and streets were hushed.⁷¹ The *Pall Mall Gazette* described a 'strange quiet' falling over 'this eminently unsentimental and utilitarian metropolis.'⁷² The *Daily Mail* remarked, 'It was surprising how largely at such short notice mourning was worn ... [lending an] inconceivably sombre effect to the town.'⁷³ The next day, according to *The Times*, 'in the great majority of shops black shutters had been put up ... the flags on

⁶⁹ 'The House of Mourning: Victorian Mourning and Funeral Customs in the 1890s', <http://www.victoriana.com/VictorianPeriod/mourning.htm>, 2006.

⁷⁰ L. Picard, *Victorian London: The Life of a City 1840-1870*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 2005, pp. 220-221.

⁷¹ *Daily Mail*, 23 January 1901, p. 5 & *Morning Post*, 23 January 1901, p. 4.

⁷² *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 January 1901, p. 1.

⁷³ *Daily Mail*, 24 January 1901, p. 6 & the *Telegraph* & *Daily Mail* reported similar scenes. *Telegraph*, 24 January 1901, p. 1 & *Daily Mail*, 24 January 1901, p. 2.

were half so impressive as the silent homage of her people.⁷⁵ Another observer, noted that the funeral 'was attended by the most sympathetic and enormous crowds that have ever been seen.'⁷⁶ The day before her funeral, even *Reynolds's News* acknowledged 'the wave of emotion' which had swept over the city.⁷⁷



Figure 19. 'The Queen's Death. The Arrival of Newspapers on a Battleship.' *Graphic*, 2 February 1901.

That wave of emotion also swept through the rest of Britain and the empire after Victoria's death. As in the different ways they had embraced the Diamond Jubilee, mourning Victoria in the colonies too had many facets. Certainly for most people there seems to have been a real feeling of sadness at the death of a familiar and beloved figure. Although she was very remote from their lives, people everywhere knew so much about the Queen. She had been present for so long that the loss seemed intimate and real even in lands far away. (Figure 19.) Moreover, she had come to symbolise many important things.

⁷⁵ G. Higginson, *Seventy-One years of a Guardsman's Life*, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1916, pp. 388-389.

⁷⁶ B. La Terriere, *Days That Are Gone*, Hutchison & Co., London, 1924, p. 250.

⁷⁷ *Reynolds's News*, 3 February 1901, p. 1.

6. An Extraordinary Hurly Burly of Confusion

Just as various parties were involved in producing the spectacle of the Diamond Jubilee, so too the official and the unofficial, the press, religion and even music interacted to shape the mourning of Queen Victoria. The ways in which her death was marked were never, entirely, in the hands of civil and royal officials. Commercial activity, while not nearly as intense as in 1897, was again important in both shaping perceptions of the significance of the Queen's death and in providing ways for people to commemorate her, in public and private. In addition, people from across the empire made an impact on official ritual by insisting through their voluntary efforts to be part of the great goodbye.

The government and royal household were remarkably ill prepared for the death of the Queen. The essential starting point in organising her funeral was Victoria's own written instruction, dictated in a memorandum dated 25 October 1897 and addressed to the Prince of Wales and Princess Beatrice with a supplement dated 25 January 1898.¹ In a significant irony, Victoria decisively rejected many of the trappings of the typical 'Victorian' funeral that she personally had made fashionable through her own arrangements for Prince Albert. There was to be no lying-in-state and the funeral itself was to be 'simple and with as little pomp as possible.' Even in death she continued her policy of avoiding complicated ceremony and regalia wherever possible. A policy that she had maintained for most of her reign.² Her coffin was to be carried by non-commissioned officers and her Highland attendants, and was to be borne on a gun-carriage, modified to 'go smoothly and noiselessly.'³ She specifically noted that this decision was inspired by the 'two most striking and touching Military Funerals' of Prince Leopold and of Prince Henry of Battenberg (in

¹ RAW: VIC/F 23/1. 'Funeral instructions, Memorandum 25 October 1897.' Royal Archive, Windsor Castle. See also: RAW: VIC/F 23/2.

² RAW: VIC/F 23/2. 'Supplement to Funeral instructions 25 January 1898.'

³ RAW: VIC/F 23/1. 'Funeral instructions, Memorandum 25 October 1897.'

1896). As head of an army at war she considered that she too had a right, and probably a duty, to have a military funeral.⁴ However, the horses were not to be black, and the pall was to be satin and gold with the royal arms embroidered on the corners. The 'Dead March' was not to be played, nor were there to be any black drapings. Her instructions were unusual for the time but clear: the colour black was not to be used in any procession and she would have instead a white funeral, with even the hangings along the route to be purple cashmere with white satin bows.⁵ The interior of the funeral train carriage carrying her coffin was to be swathed in mauve silk and the public also asked to continue this theme by using the colours purple and white to commemorate the passing of their Queen. She initially asked that her remains be taken directly to her mausoleum at Frogmore where she would be reunited with Albert as quickly as possible and not first to St George's Chapel but in her supplementary instructions indicated that she would not object if for practical reasons the first part of the service were to be held in St. George's. Should she die away from her home at Windsor she wished 'all my directions to be carried out as much as possible.'⁶

There were two major challenges facing the new King and others responsible for such an important funeral. The first was the practical one of organising an elaborate event within the space of only ten days: Victoria died on the evening of Tuesday 22 January; her funeral cortege was scheduled to leave Osborne on Friday 1 February. Despite the Queen's age, no plans had been made in advance, apart from her own instructions. Continual liaison with the King and his staff at Osborne was, therefore, required. The funeral was to begin at Osborne and end at Frogmore, after a journey of close to two hundred kilometres, spread over several days and involving numerous different forms of transport and ceremony.

⁴ However, it should be noted that the initial decision for a military funeral was made before the start of the Boer War.

⁵ *North Devon Journal*, 7 February 1901, p.6 & RAW: VIC/F 23/2. 'Supplement to Funeral instructions 25 January 1898.'

⁶ *Graphic*, 4 February 1901, p.3; *London Daily News*, 4 February 1901, p.2 & RAW: VIC/F 23/2. 'Supplement to Funeral instructions 25 January 1898.'

There was also the conceptual problem of devising ritual that as a whole would reflect the diverse perceptions and emotions centred on the dead Queen. On the one hand there were the quiet, private images of personal Christian devotion and ideal family life; on the other awareness of the military and imperial aspirations of which she had been such a potent symbol. At the same time she was both a national icon and an international figure. The sense that a whole era was being interred with her had to be recognised, while at the same time it was equally important to affirm continuities. The most recent funeral of a sovereign had been in 1837, and this precedent was of little use in the very different world of 1901.

While not doing anything inconsistent with his mother's wishes, in the actual form of the arrangements Edward VII indulged his own taste for ceremony and stimulated the creation of a unique pageant, or rather a series of pageants that provided a successful focal point for public mourning.⁷ He called the Lord Chamberlain (the Earl of Clarendon) and Lord Esher, as secretary of the Office of Works, for a meeting on the evening of 23 January, the day after Victoria's death. The 'rough memorandum of the King's commands given to me (Clarendon) verbally by His Majesty' from this meeting established the broad outlines of the ceremonial.⁸ The coffin was to be taken from Osborne to Cowes on the afternoon of 1 February on a gun-carriage with Indian rubber tyres and then carried across the Solent on a royal yacht in a procession through the Channel Fleet. There were to be salutes and guards of honour. The body would remain on board the yacht at Portsmouth overnight. The following morning a special train would convey the coffin and the royal family to Victoria Station in London where Non-Commissioned Officers would transfer it to another gun-carriage drawn by eight cream-coloured horses.⁹ Followed by the King and royalty on horseback, the Queen would be taken through the centre of the capital to Paddington

⁷ D. Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c.1820-1977,' in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pp.135-136.

⁸ TNA: PRO CO 132. Queen Victoria's Funeral, No.17; RA, LC Funeral Queen Victoria, Letters Received, No's. 50-53, Norfolk to Clarendon, 24 January 1901.

⁹ Non-commissioned officer corps usually includes all grades of corporal and sergeant.

Station with a military escort and guard of honour. Troops would line the route. The new King made it clear that 'all needless pomp was to be avoided.' From Paddington a second special train would take the coffin on to Windsor where it would be placed on a third gun-carriage for the procession to St George's Chapel. At the end of that service, it would be taken to Frogmore Mausoleum for the final rites and interment, with the King and the royal family following this last time on foot.¹⁰

Like the Diamond Jubilee, a range of agencies and individuals was involved in the funeral arrangements, including the Earl Marshal, the Lord Chamberlain's Office, the Office of Works, various members of the royal staff, the army, the navy, the police, the Dean of Windsor, Bantings the undertakers and the railways. Bishop Davidson was important in creating the religious proceedings.¹¹ Senior members of the government did not take any active role, an indication that the funeral of the sovereign, unlike that of the former Prime Ministers, Wellington and Gladstone, was seen as an event above politics. At the outset the overall leadership of the event was a matter of debate. It was initially thought that the Lord Chamberlain should be in charge but the Duke of Norfolk, as hereditary Earl Marshal, claimed responsibility on the basis of historical precedent and persuaded the King to accept his claim. According to Esher, Clarendon was 'much chagrined,' and despite his own willingness to co-operate with Norfolk, it seems that the officials of the Lord Chamberlain's Office were not completely supportive.¹² On Friday 25 January, Norfolk convened a meeting attended by Esher, Clarendon, Earl Roberts (Commander-in-Chief), the Duke of Portland (Master of the Horse), Sir Edward Bradford (Metropolitan Police Commissioner) and Sir Spencer Ponsonby-Fane (Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Office), whose experience of royal funerals stretched back to 1861. It discussed 'the

¹⁰ TNA: PRO CO 132. Notes: Queen Victoria's Funeral, No.17.

¹¹ TNA: PRO CO 132. Minutes of meeting 23 January 1901, Queen Victoria's Funeral, No.17.

¹² J.M. Packard, *Farewell in Splendour: The Passing of Queen Victoria and Her Age*, Dutton, New York, 2000, pp. 210-211.

London part of the arrangements'.¹³ In relation to the earlier and later parts of the ceremonial, however, it was the royal staff that took the leading roles. Queen Victoria's assistant private secretary Frederick (Fritz) Ponsonby was directly delegated responsibility for the processions at Windsor.¹⁴ The King decided all difficult or important points. He seems to have been careful to avoid clashes of responsibility and was the only person with an overview of the whole sequence of events. According to *The Times* it was his views that seem to have 'rightly' shaped the ceremonial.¹⁵

At the time, Ponsonby-Fane recorded that the days before the funeral were the most 'extraordinary hurly burly of confusion'.¹⁶ Norfolk, who had successfully organised Gladstone's funeral, probably underestimated the demands of the task he was now taking on at short notice. Certainly he was hampered by the lack of a secretariat, other than the heralds of the College of Arms. According to Fritz Ponsonby, despite 'being accustomed to work out coats of arms and genealogical tables at their leisure, they were swept off their feet with the urgent arrangements for the funeral'.¹⁷ Ponsonby-Fane and Esher were also critical of the heralds.¹⁸ Meanwhile Norfolk complained about Fritz Ponsonby's 'rudeness' to the heralds, and Esher thought that the Lord Chamberlain and his department were being 'unhelpful' to the Earl Marshal.¹⁹

Despite the haste, confusion, and personal tensions, the eventual result appeared successful and well organised, except to those on the inside. Norfolk was slow in announcing

¹³ CAC: Esher Papers, 2/10, 25 January 1901, Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge.

¹⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 24 January 1901, p. 6 & *Telegraph*, 25 January 1901, p. 4. See also: M. Packard, *Farewell in Splendour*, 2000, pp. 210-211.

¹⁵ *The Times*, 28 January 1901, p. 3.

¹⁶ TNA: VIC/F 23/2. LC Private Memoranda, Queen's Funeral Royal Archive.

¹⁷ F. Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1951, p. 85.

¹⁸ TNA: VIC/F 23/1, VIC/F 23/2. LC Private Memoranda January 1901.

¹⁹ F. Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns*, 1951, p.86. See also: TNA: VIC/F 23/1, VIC/F 23/2. LC Private Memoranda.

arrangements but this delay most likely indicates thoroughness and the need for consultation with the King rather than inefficiency.²⁰ There were also some careful rehearsals of problem areas of the proceedings.²¹ Despite his criticism of the heralds, Ponsonby acknowledged that the Earl Marshal himself was 'a thoroughly businesslike and capable man' who worked 'like a cart-horse.'²² Although Ponsonby-Fane complained that the meetings 'of a kind of committee' convened by Norfolk never settled anything, in all probability these gatherings were an important means of communication between the key agencies involved.²³ The only problems on the day were minor ones. At Windsor station the horses that were to pull the gun-carriage broke their traces but this was an unforeseeable mishap which was handled successfully by improvisation when the naval guard of honour picked up the broken harnessing and pulled the gun-carriage themselves.²⁴ The printed order of service simply reproduced the Prayer Book, including the reference to 'our dear brother [sic] here departed.'²⁵ Arrangements for the allocation of seats for St George's Chapel were one aspect that was badly organised, meaning that although many applicants for tickets had been turned away, amazingly in the end the building was far from full.²⁶ Over-stressed officials, such as Ponsonby-Fane, magnified such faults but as far as the general public was concerned the proceedings went without any visible hitch. Thus, like those who had planned the Diamond Jubilee, we can see that the organisers of the funeral had to work within conditions laid down by the Queen. Her instructions that it was to be a simple, military-style funeral, with the casket conveyed on a

²⁰ *The Times*, 29, 30 & 31 January 1901 & *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 January 1901.

²¹ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 31 January 1901, p. 4 & *The Times*, 30 January 1901, p. 2.

²² F. Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1951, p. 86.

²³ *The Times*, 29 January 1901, p. 2.

²⁴ TNA: VIC/F 23/1, VIC/F 23/2. LC Private Memoranda January 1901 & F. Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns*, 1951, p. 89.

²⁵ RAW: VIC/F 23/2. Burial of the Dead: St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 2 February 1901.

²⁶ TNA: VIC/F 23/2. LC Private Memoranda, Queen's Funeral.

gun carriage were obeyed.²⁷ This was, after all, in keeping with her preferred ceremonial style in life and provided a marked contrast to the last great public funeral, Wellington's, which had featured an incredibly ornate and almost laughable funeral hearse.²⁸

Because it was known that organisers were bound to follow Victoria's directions, there was little public discussion or criticism of the funeral arrangements. *The Times* noted 'all criticism must be hushed by the knowledge that the arrangements...are those wished by the Queen.'²⁹ However, the press did try to pressure the organisers into allowing more opportunity for public participation. In response to a rumour that there would be no London procession, *The Times* pressed for such an event which they believed 'would give the people of London an opportunity of assembling in order to pay their tribute of respect.'³⁰ The organisers did plan a procession through the streets of London, although some in the press felt that it should have been longer.³¹

The rituals and activities following the death of Queen Victoria can be divided into ten specific and significant phases, beginning with private mourning that then moved to public ceremonial. The first began on Monday 22 January and lasted until Friday 25 January and took place in the Queen's bedroom at Osborne House. The Queen's body was laid out on her bed and was visited by members of the family, servants and tenants on the Osborne estate. The Bishop of Winchester, Randall Davidson, conducted services for the royal family in the room on 22 and 23 January and Holy Communion on 24 January.³²

²⁷ RAW: VIC/F 23/1. Funeral instructions, Memorandum 25 October 1897. See also: E. Longford, *Victoria R.I.*, London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1964, p. 563.

²⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 20 November 1852, p. 440; *Morning Post*, 19 October 1852, p. 4 & *Norfolk Chronicle*, 27 November 1852, p. 5.

²⁹ *The Times*, 28 January 1901, p. 9.

³⁰ *The Times*, 25 January 1901, p. 7 & *Daily Mail*, 25 January 1901, p. 2.

³¹ *Daily Mail*, 1 February 1901, p. 5. & *London Daily News*, 2 February 1901, p. 3.

³² *Daily Mail*, 4 February 1901, pp. 5-6; *North Devon Journal*, 7 February 1901, p. 6 & *Reading Mercury*, 2 February 1901, p. 2.

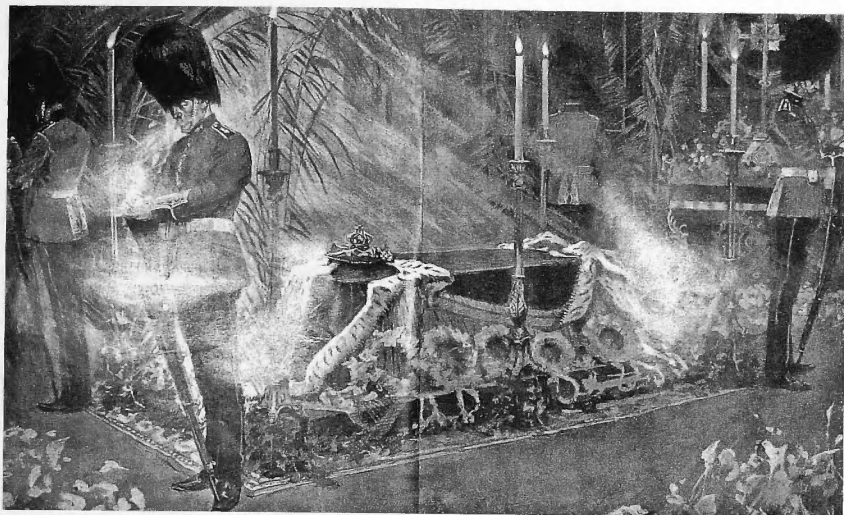


Figure 20. 'The Lying in State Osborne House.' *Graphic Supplement*, 6 February 1901.

The second phase of the process began on Friday 25 January and lasted until Friday 1 February, taking place in the dining room at Osborne House. Having been placed in its closed coffin, the body was moved downstairs to a *chapelle ardente*. Emblems of royalty were placed above and beneath the coffin and sacred pictures and floral tributes surrounded it. A temporary altar was set up and further services were held. Four Grenadiers stood guard while it was in residence. Selected friends, local people, artists and journalists were admitted to the room with eyewitness reports and images of the scene appearing in the press shortly after.³³ (Figure 20.) All the major British illustrated papers and magazines provided pictures of the many phases of the funeral. Such illustrations and photographs allowed a mass audience to participate vicariously in the proceedings and provided cheap souvenirs for scrap books. Readers liked the illustrated newspapers because they gave them a sense of being abreast of current events without having to think too deeply about them. There were then, as there still is today, a valid time sensitive motivation in seeking a cursory knowledge of a wide variety of contemporary issues. The illustrated

³³ *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, 1 February 1901, p. 6; *Tamworth Herald*, 9 February 1901, p. 6 & *Daily Mail*, 4 February 1901, pp. 5-6.

press met Victorian middle class needs to be reassured about their own cultural values and for that the extensive coverage of Queen Victoria's funeral was perfect material.³⁴

On Friday 1 February from 1.45 p.m. to 3.00 p.m. the third phase of proceedings took place at East Cowes. The coffin was laid on a gun-carriage, covered with a white pall, and taken in procession from Osborne House to Trinity Pier. Both male and female members of the royal family walked behind. There was a military escort, troops lined the road, a band, and a large crowd watched.³⁵ The Bandmaster of the Coldstream Guards was in charge of the music played for the funeral cortege from its beginning at Osborne House right through London and on to its end at Windsor. Victoria had left specific instructions that only Beethoven's march from Piano Sonata No 12 in Ab and Chopin's 'Marche Funebre' should be played. However, forty Portsmouth Division Drummers in the intervals between the funeral marches also played a Solemn March played previously at Prince Henry's funeral.³⁶ (Figure 21.)

At 3.00 p.m. the coffin was placed on the deck of the royal yacht 'Alberta' underneath a crimson canopy and the fourth phase began. Preceded by an escort of eight destroyers and followed by the 'Victoria and Albert' with the King and Kaiser aboard, the Alberta sailed past a line of warships moored all along the track of the procession. Salutes were fired as it passed. A number of foreign ships were also present. Large somberly dressed crowds watched from the shore and from boats as the 'Alberta' made its way from Cowes to Portsmouth, where it arrived at 4.30 p.m. The Queen's body remained on board and under guard until the next morning.³⁷

³⁴ P.W. Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News*, Aldershot and Brookfield, Ashgate, 1998, pp. 2-5.

³⁵ *Graphic*, Royal Funeral Number, 6 February 1901, p. 4; *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 7 February 1901, p. 2 & *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 4 February 1901, p. 9.

³⁶ J. Ambler, *The Royal Marines Band Service 'Per Mare Per Terram': Volume 2: Bands and Drums of the Royal Marines Since 1664*, Royal Marines Historical Society, Portsmouth, 2011, p. 227.

³⁷ *Tamworth Herald*, 9 February 1901, p. 6; *Daily Mail*, 4 February 1901, pp. 5-6 & *Graphic*, Royal Funeral Number, 6 February 1901, p. 4.

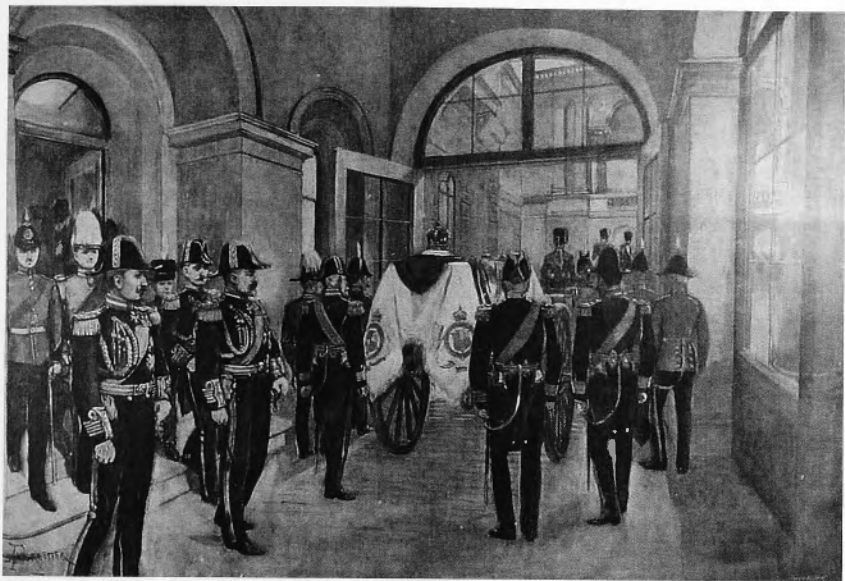


Figure 21. 'Queen Victoria's Funeral Cortege - Osborne.' *L'Illustration*, 9 February 1901.

The cortege spent the night at Portsmouth and Gosport, and then on the morning of Saturday 2 February proceeded from Clarence Yard to London by train arriving at 11.00 a.m. to begin the fifth phase and the major public ceremonial. Accompanied by massed bands again playing the selected funeral marches, and numerous military and naval detachments, the coffin was conveyed on a second gun-carriage through the streets of the capital from Victoria Station via Buckingham Palace Road; The Mall; St James's Street; Piccadilly; Hyde Park; Edgware Road; Boundary Road; London Street; Praed Street and finally on to Paddington Station at roughly 1.00 p.m. The route especially chosen to provide as many vantage points as possible for a crowd of a million people, predicted by police to be bigger than that for either of the jubilees.³⁸ The King followed on horseback, accompanied by the Kaiser, the Kings of Greece and Portugal, and numerous other members of British and foreign royal families. The procession was essentially military in

³⁸ TNA: PRO WORK 21/34/2. Funeral route and procession, '1901. See also: *Daily Mail*, 2 February 1901, p. 3; *The Times*, 3 February 1901, p. 4.

character. Royal ladies and elderly men (including the King of the Belgians) travelled in coaches. Troops lined the route and enormous crowds looked on.³⁹

In the sixth phase, the coffin and royal mourners travelled, in the early afternoon of Saturday 2 February from Paddington to Windsor by train. The procession at Windsor required a third gun carriage which following a mishap with the horses at the station, was drawn by sailors. The procession was almost entirely on foot and included heralds and representatives of foreign countries who had not participated in the London procession. (Figure 22.) The royal ladies went directly to the castle but the main procession took a circuitous route through Windsor: the High Street; Park Street; the Long Walk; the Sovereign's Entrance; the Norman Gate; and on to the Lower Ward - to accommodate the many thousands of spectators. Again, bands played the funeral marches along the way.⁴⁰

Late that Saturday afternoon in St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, the seventh phase took place. An impressive choral service was attended by leading civilian representatives: members of the government, the judiciary, and municipal leaders who had not taken part in the procession. It was the formal religious climax of the funeral.⁴¹ The eighth phase saw the coffin placed in the Albert Memorial Chapel from Saturday 2 February to Monday 4 February, while Sunday services were conducted in the nearby main chapel. A private evening service for the royal family was held in the Memorial Chapel at Windsor Castle.⁴²

³⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 February 1901, pp. 7-9; *Graphic*, 4 February 1901, p. 6 & *Daily Express*, 3 February 1901, p. 2.

⁴⁰ *Graphic*, 6 February 1901, pp. 26-8; *Illustrated Police News*, 5 February 1901, p.11 & *Evening Telegraph*, 5 February 1901, p. 6.

⁴¹ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 6 February 1901, pp. 7-8 & *Morning Post*, 5 February 1901, p. 11.

⁴² *Daily Mail*, 5 February 1901, pp. 5-6 & *Nation Review*, 6 February 1901, pp. 4-5.

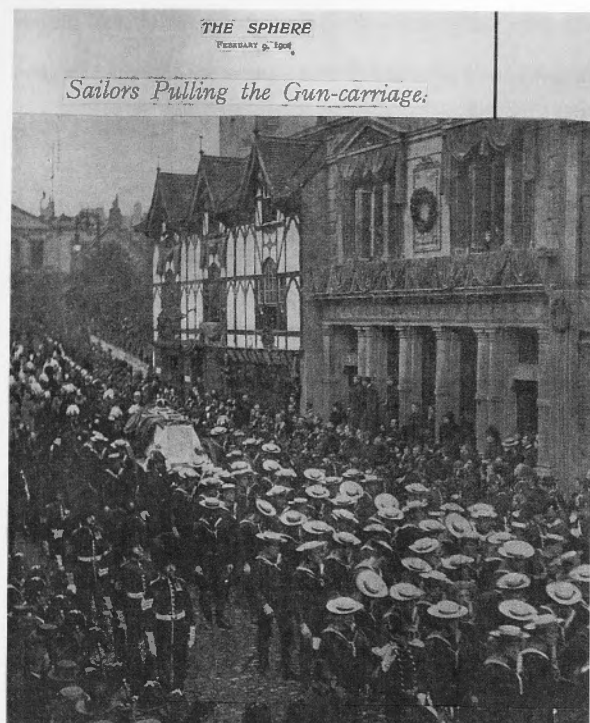


Figure 22. 'Sailors Pulling the Gun-carriage.' *Sphere*, 9 February 1901. Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.

The ninth and penultimate phase took place in Windsor Great Park on Monday 4 February from 2.50 p.m. to 3.30 p.m. The final walking procession of the King, members of the royal family and foreign royalty followed the coffin and gun-carriage on the last stage of its journey from Windsor Castle to Frogmore. Troops lined the route, military bands played the designated Chopin and Beethoven works, guns fired and then spectators were allowed into the park to watch the final part of the procession.⁴³

The committal service in the mausoleum, which made up the tenth and final phase of the funeral of Queen Victoria, began at 3.30 p.m. on Monday 4 February was quite elaborate, included a hymn specially composed by Parratt with words by the poet Tennyson, beginning: 'The Face of Death is towards the sun of life' and St George Chapel choir

⁴³ *Graphic*, 4 February 1901, p. 7; *Daily Express*, 3 February 1901, p.3 & *Daily Mail*, 5 February 1901, pp. 5-6.

singing 'Yea, though I walk through the valley.' It was private, but detailed accounts were published about the lowering of the coffin to its final resting place down beside Albert's coffin in the Frogmore Mausoleum.⁴⁴

The challenge of responding to the range of perceptions of the Queen was met through the numerous separate phases of this ceremonial, each of which had a distinctive character. Queen Victoria's funeral was complex. To a considerable extent its character was shaped by location and the fact that the Queen died at Osborne, thus providing the opportunity for a spectacular waterborne phase in bringing the body across the Solent. It could have been brought across to the mainland with much less ceremony. Any of the previous monarchs, when royalty was far less popular, most certainly would have been. Similarly, there was no practical reason for a procession through London, as a change of trains could easily have transferred the body from Portsmouth to Windsor. The inclusion of phases four and five therefore built on the success of the Diamond Jubilee by using the funeral as a popular demonstration of royal prestige, military power and imperial might which was all the more desirable in the face of the continuing war in South Africa. By keeping the London procession almost exclusively military in character such images were sustained and not confused by the presence of any civilian representatives.

The funeral was also an occasion of international significance. In addition to the four reigning monarchs who accompanied Edward VII in the procession, eight other nations were represented by members of their royal families and twenty-one countries by ambassadors or special envoys.⁴⁵ Militaristic ceremonial was, however, balanced by other images. In phase six the historic setting of Windsor combined with the presence of the heralds to emphasise tradition and continuity, while the choice of an indirect route from the station to the chapel ensured visibility. Civilian institutions and dignitaries were

⁴⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 4 February 1901, p. 9 & *Graphic*, 4 February 1901, p. 6.

⁴⁵ *Lichfield Mercury*, 8 February 1901, pp. 9-10 & *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 7 February, p. 2.

recognised in the congregation at St. George's Chapel. The walking processions of royalty in phases three and nine gave prominence to an image of family coherence and devotion, especially through the unprecedented inclusion of women on foot. The world had changed remarkably for many women during Victoria's reign and this was just a small sign of that change. The question of the relationship between the monarch and her female subjects, that this seemingly minor innovation to formality raises, will be discussed later and in depth. In phase nine, the procession even included royal children, notably the six-year-old future Edward VIII, now second in line to the throne.⁴⁶ Although crowds at these phases were more limited than in the grand ceremonies of phases four, five and six, their presence was still encouraged. In phases two and ten the admission of the press ensured that accounts of supposedly private events would go into general circulation. As we have already seen, Field Marshall Roberts was considered a master manipulator of the British press, along with many prominent politicians, and the symbiotic relationship of manufactured news and news teller was well established. By the time of Victoria's funeral in 1901 such controlled and possibly even staged media opportunities should not really surprise us.

Even at phase one, readers of *The Times* were able to learn, through a discreet 'leak' that the dead Queen lay on her bed 'with an expression of perfect peace' with her hands crossed so as to leave her wedding ring visible.⁴⁷ At the end of phase ten they could read that she now rested 'beside the husband whose love was her solace and support during his lifetime, and whose memory was cherished with such touching fidelity during the long years of her lonely widowhood.'⁴⁸ The sequence showed a circular movement from the privacy of the bedroom to the ultimate privacy of the tomb, by way both of the splendour of public

⁴⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 January 1901, p. 9 & *Morning Post*, 1 February 1901, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *The Times*, 24 January 1901, p. 1; *Daily Express*, 28 January 1901, p. 3 & *Pall Mall Gazette*, 28 January 1901, p. 7.

⁴⁸ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 6 February 1901, p. 8; *Morning Post*, 5 February 1901, p. 10 & *The Times*, 5 February 1901, p. 2.

military display and the celebration of familial solidarity. Even though the London crowds were large, still only a minority of the British population were able to witness one or more phases of the funeral ceremonial in person. However, as with the Diamond Jubilee, an overall impression of the entire sequence as it occurred was accessible to the public thanks to the extensive press coverage.

Running through this process were the important religious dimensions of the ceremonial. *The Times* correspondent on board HMS Majestic off Portsmouth on 1 February observed that on the Solent 'there was nothing of a show, but that dignity and solemn treatment which elevated everything and made of this pageant a deeply touching, if not a religious, function.'⁴⁹ A kind of quasi-religious awe did indeed imbue much of the proceedings, whether the object of veneration was the nation, family life, the living King or the dead Queen herself. At another level of interpretation though, there was a clear division and balance between phases one, two, seven, eight and ten which were marked by formal religious observance and the essentially secular character of phases three, four, five, six and nine. Although phases six and nine had their destinations in religious buildings, at no time did robed clergy or choristers participate in the public outdoor processions.⁵⁰ They waited for the funeral at St. George's Chapel and at the mausoleum. The exclusively secular and military tone of the procession through London apparently distressed some Christians. Similar complaints had been made about the Duke of Wellington's funeral procession in 1852. The Bishop of Winchester, Randall Davidson, received a letter from a parishioner on 15 May 1901 complaining equally about the militaristic nature of the Queen's procession and the lack of religious ceremony and claiming to speak for quite a few other parishioners who could not voice their disapproval as eloquently as the writer.⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 7 February, p. 3 & *The Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *The Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 2 & *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 6 February 1901, p. 8.

⁵¹ LPL: DavP 326, fo. M.F. Macaulay to Davidson, 15 May 1910, *Davidson Papers*, Lambeth Palace Library.

Although Christian observance was limited largely to the private and semi-private phases of Victoria's obsequies, it is evident that the King himself set considerable store by it.⁵² He shared Davidson's concern that the religious high point of the funeral at St. George's Chapel should be carefully judged to ensure that it did not offend any strand of public opinion, at home or abroad. Recognition, perhaps, by the new King of something that Victoria new well - that the empire was diverse and religion not always a unifying force within it. The sense of a great historic occasion coupled with unprecedented press coverage meant pressure for all involved to make Britain and the empire proud while also making the most of the emotional climate to entrench the royal family in the hearts of the people.⁵³ However, the religious observances of the King and the royal family were not simply for public consumption: private services were held on at least six occasions before the body left Osborne and again at Portsmouth before departure for London and in the Albert Memorial Chapel at Windsor without any press coverage.⁵⁴ Indeed at one point the King's pious zeal appears to have disconcerted even Davidson who on 24 January was surprised to find himself 'imperatively' commanded to conduct a Holy Communion service for the royal family around the Queen's body.⁵⁵ At Portsmouth, Cosmo Lang, after conducting a short service on board the 'Alberta,' was touched to see the King and Kaiser spontaneously kneel side by side at the foot of the coffin.⁵⁶ At Frogmore, the King and Queen made their young grandson Prince Edward kneel with them beside the grave.⁵⁷

Something of this sentiment was transmitted to the wider public. The widespread reports of packed churches in the fortnight following the Queen's death suggest that many found

⁵² LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.23. King to Davidson, 23 February 1901.

⁵³ See: *Graphic*, 4 February 1901, p. 7; *Daily Express*, 3 February 1901, p.3; *Daily Mail*, 5 February 1901, pp.5-6 & LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.23.

⁵⁴ LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.23. Davidson to the King, 25 February 1901.

⁵⁵ LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.17. King to Davidson, 24 January.1901.

⁵⁶ J.G. Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1949, pp. 248-250.

⁵⁷ G.K.A. Bell, *Randall Davidson Archbishop of Canterbury*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1935, Vol.1, p. 357.

their sense of national bereavement led them to turn to religious ritual and language.⁵⁸

Outside London and Windsor, services were generally the central focus of local observance on the day of the funeral itself. A Free Church mission to London that had chanced to coincide with the period between the death and the funeral proved to be unexpectedly successful.⁵⁹

The funeral of Victoria was an important event, and the subject of intensive press coverage.⁶⁰ By contrast, the details of her actual death attracted much less newspaper interest. Late Victorians, as Patricia Jalland describes, increasingly preferred to 'avoid information about the more unsavoury aspects of death.' Unlike previous generations they attached no great value to the 'Christian triumph over suffering,' opting instead for 'reassurance that all was peaceful and painless.' By late Victorian times it was all about the performance, about public display of socially acceptable grief and impressing the neighbours with the sobriety of the response. Death was horrid; grief was romantic bliss.⁶¹ Regarding Victoria's death, the press obliged. Although there were occasional descriptions of her ailment, 'cerebral obstruction,' *The Times* emphasised that Victoria had 'such an end as she would have desired,' with her death coming in sleep. Furthermore, it was reassuringly noted that up until the end she could recognise her gathered family members.⁶²

Far from lingering on her death, the press even suggested that it was only with the procession, service, and internment at Frogmore that the Queen had truly departed this world. A description of the funeral procession in the *Daily Mail*, for instance, was titled

⁵⁸ *The Times*, 2 February 1901, also reported in *Daily Mail & Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, post funeral editions from 3-7 February 1901.

⁵⁹ *Morning Post*, 3 February 1901, p.11 & *The Times*, 2 February 1901, p. 5.

⁶⁰ I have yet to find a newspaper in English that did not cover the event and there is a collection of international foreign language press articles about the event in the British Library that has hundreds of clippings.

⁶¹ P. Jalland, *Death and the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, p. 52.

⁶² *The Times*, 23 January 1901, p. 11; *Aberdeen Journal*, 24 January 1901, p. 5 & *Christian World*, 24 January 1901, p. 8.

'The Passing of the Queen.' The account ended with the words 'And thus sweetly passed Victoria to her well earned rest.'⁶³ The significance attached to such a procession reflects, according to John Gillis, the importance in late-Victorian society of the ceremonial forms of mourning. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of elaborate rituals and decorum surrounding death. Gillis also notes that this increased emphasis on the funeral marked a shift in focus from the deceased and their death to the survivors and their grieving.⁶⁴

Because attendance at the actual funeral and internment was limited to family and dignitaries, the procession was the main occasion for public participation. Hundreds of thousands attended that last passage of the Queen and many mourned in other ways. The size of the crowds suggests that there was widespread desire to participate in this last Victorian event. The *Graphic* reported that the numbers were so great that 'the position of the ordinary sightseer was rather pathetic,' and 'by nine o'clock the crush was terrible' in St. James Park.⁶⁵ Just as they had in 1897 for the Diamond Jubilee, many arrived early in the morning to secure good viewing positions, although the police had orders to prevent crowds from gathering until dawn, while others climbed trees along the route.⁶⁶ It was not only Londoners who wished to witness the procession. The *Graphic* observed that 'every train coming to town was packed with people.'⁶⁷

Like the Diamond Jubilee, the procession was considered a spectacle and the people acted as both mourners and sightseers.⁶⁸ Unlike the Diamond Jubilee, the mood this time was

⁶³ *Daily Mail*, 2 February 1901, p. 5 & it was largely copied in the *Cardiff Times*, 3 February 1901, p. 3.

⁶⁴ J.R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual and the Quest for Family Values*, Basic Books, New York, 1996, pp. 207-213.

⁶⁵ *Graphic*, 6 February 1901, p. 16. See also: *Daily Express*, 3 February 1901, p. 3; *Daily Mail*, 5 February 1901, p. 5.

⁶⁶ *Sphere*, 9 February 1901, p. 2 & *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 February 1901, p. 8.

⁶⁷ *Graphic*, 6 February 1901, p. 16. See also: *Morning Post*, 6 February 1901, p. 3.

⁶⁸ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 6 February 1901, p. 8 & *Morning Post*, 5 February 1901, p. 9.

subdued. Despite the great numbers, nearly all observers reported on the silence of the spectators: 'nothing was more impressive to the eye than was to the ear the hush that marked the progress of the silent Queen.'⁶⁹ Similarly, *The Times* described a 'Silence... broken only by low murmurs of conversation.'⁷⁰ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* reported that the 'most notable feature of the vast crowds [was] the sad and respectful demeanour of the people one and all.'⁷¹ 'Many women were moved to tears,' according to the *Graphic*, while 'many men laboured to conceal their emotion.'⁷² The solemn aspect of the event was heightened by the mourning clothes worn by the majority of spectators: 'it was through a continuous black crowd of bystanders... that the dead Queen made her last progress through the Metropolis.'⁷³ Many of the private homes along the route, particularly on Piccadilly, were ornately draped with purple and black fabric.⁷⁴

A large number of individuals and organisations went beyond mourning clothes in their efforts to pay respect to the Queen's memory. Hundreds contributed evergreen wreaths to hang from lamp posts along the route. The idea for these wreaths originated with a young woman, identified in the papers simply as Miss Close who placed a notice in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the Wednesday before the funeral.⁷⁵ Enlisting the help of prominent businesses and the railway companies, she and her friends set up a receiving centre for donated wreaths from across the country.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 February 1901, p. 187 & *Daily Express*, 8 February 1901, p. 6.

⁷⁰ *The Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 7.

⁷¹ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 3 February 1901, p. 3 & *St James Budget*, 4 February, p. 6.

⁷² *Graphic*, 6 February 1901, p. 26. See also: *Shields Daily Gazette*, 5 February 1901, p. 1 & *Telegraph*, 5 February 1901, p. 3.

⁷³ *Illustrated London News*, 9 February 1901, p. 187 & *Scotsman*, 8 February 1901, p. 8.

⁷⁴ *Sphere*, 9 February 1901, p. 2; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 6 February 1901, p. 5; *Morning Post*, 5 February 1901, p. 8 & *The Times*, 5 February 1901, p. 2.

⁷⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 January 1901, p. 8.

⁷⁶ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 January 1901, p. 4 & 1 February 1901, p. 3.

The reaction to Miss Close's appeal suggests a widespread desire to participate in publicly mourning the Queen. In only three days, six thousand wreaths arrived in London. Hailing from Eaton Square in the affluent suburb of Belgravia, Miss Close (and her helpers) was most likely from the upper echelons of society. Her plan, however, seems to have appealed to a wide cross-section of the population. There were contributions from peers and MPs, from street sellers and farm labourers, from school children and university students. They came not just from London but from all over Britain. In one village, it was reported, every inhabitant had picked a sprig of laurel or ivy and these had been woven together into a wreath. The decorating began on Friday morning, the day before the funeral, but even after two wreaths had been hung on eight hundred lamp-posts along the way there were still nearly fifteen hundred left over, and these were sent to hospitals.⁷⁷ It is impossible to know exactly which sections of society sent the most - it seems likely that the middle class did, but the *Pall Mall Gazette* suggests that at least some poor and working-class people participated. The paper records messages attached to the wreaths such as 'Sent by..., an invalided gunner (farm hand),' and 'From a few poor mothers.' The paper also detailed the 'pathetic histories' of those who brought in wreaths by hand such as the man who handed in his wreath saying only 'For Her.' When asked his name he is said to have simply replied, 'That's no matter, it's the only thing I will ever have a chance to do for her.' Two suburban shop girls were reported as having heard about the project at the last minute, and staying up all night to make their wreath in time. One card explained that the wreath was 'made by thirty pairs of hands of her Majesty's poorest subjects,' while another was from the boys at a candle factory who subscribed a penny and were 'happy' to do so.⁷⁸ The success of the wreath collection suggests that there were many people throughout British society who wished to participate personally in the commemoration of Victoria. The gesture of sending in a wreath was likely motivated by a sentimental desire to pay tribute to the

⁷⁷ Miss Close gave her address simply as 'Eaton Square,' located in Belgravia, then as now, a very affluent London neighbourhood.

⁷⁸ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 February 1901, p. 8; *The Times*, 9 February 1901, p. 7 & *Daily Express*, 8 February 1901, p. 6.

Queen. Similar motivations probably lay behind the decision to attend the procession, although curiosity was also undoubtedly a factor.

By 1901, the general social and cultural preoccupation with death was in decline. Increasing longevity, seems to have made the young and the middle-aged less likely to see death as a potentially impending reality.⁷⁹ Queen Victoria's death undoubtedly stirred a stronger reaction than the deaths of previous English monarchs, probably because it seemed a greater and more shocking aberration than it would have been in the past. Another developing feature of general mourning also evident in this particular royal death was a sense of sympathy for the family of the mourners as much as grief for the deceased. All of this implying a shift in subconscious sensibility from death being regarded as routine if regrettable, to becoming exceptional and for that reason all the more traumatic and significant, even when it came inevitably, as it did with Victoria, in advanced old age.

The strong reaction to Victoria's death and funeral also fits quite neatly with the pattern discerned by David Cannadine in his work on the 'invention of tradition'.⁸⁰ In particular Victoria's death and funeral were a significant complement of the Jubilees of 1887 and 1897 in enhancing the ceremonial and public face of the monarchy. Nevertheless, in relation to this funeral at least, the language of 'invention' would probably imply too radical a discontinuity: reverence for precedent was genuine and intentional changes were not made lightly. In 1901 there is no discernible evidence of calculated intent in the arrangements to use ritual to strengthen popular royalism. Despite this, however, extensive reporting of the funeral, and parallel provincial and colonial observance and mourning facilitated widespread identification with the British royal family and their bereavement.

⁷⁹ D. Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain,' J. Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, Europa, London, 1981, p. 93. See also: P. Jalland, *Death and the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, p. 97.

⁸⁰ D. Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c.1820-1977,' in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 115-35.

The incredible rise in popular affection for the monarchy in the later part of Victoria's reign is a relevant and important historical phenomenon in relation to public reaction to her death but one which is easier to identify than to explain.⁸¹ Certainly it was built on a deeper foundation than the 'invention of tradition.' The events surrounding Victoria's death add an important dimension to understanding this process. In particular by balancing celebration with sadness, they confirmed an image of an institution that reflected the darker as well as the lighter shades of human experience. The positive image of Queen Victoria and the bereaved royal family was thus attributable not only to the increasingly elaborate pageantry but also to a feeling of shared humanity.⁸² The paradox of an extraordinary individual perceived as elevated but yet accessible was central to the public appeal of royal ceremonial, be it happy or in this case very sad. It even elevated the significance of places associated with these individuals. The way Frogmore gained a new significance and was also elevated in the public eye, simply because of it being the last resting place of Queen Victoria, is an excellent example of this process.

Pat Jalland suggests that the Evangelical model of a 'good death,' always more an ideal than a reality, was in decline well before 1901, while other religious perspectives on death, above all those of self-sacrifice in the cause of Christ and humanity, were growing stronger.⁸³ The expectation that the dead would be subject to divine judgement declined and the marginalisation of the concept of hell made it possible to seize with greater enthusiasm on the prospect of heaven as a place of renewed personal fulfilment and of reunion with loved ones. Benjamin Disraeli supposedly rejected the prospect of a visit by Victoria to his

⁸¹ R. McKibbin, 'Why was there no Marxism in Great Britain?' *English Historical Review*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984, pp. 310-13.

⁸² LPL: DavP 19/101B. R. Davidson to Mrs Davidson, 21 January 1901, *Davidson Papers*.

⁸³ P. Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1996, pp. 39-58.

own deathbed on the basis that she would only want him to take a message to Albert for her.⁸⁴

Responses to Victoria's death also reflected and stimulated a kind of civil religion with a cultural resonance blending almost seamlessly into orthodox Christianity. Focal points of this framework of civil belief were veneration for Victoria in particular and the monarchy in general, as an expression of suffering service and as the sacred focus for a providentially ordained empire; reverence for domestic and family life; and hero worship for a special woman who seemed to represent an inspiring fusion of national and spiritual values. The nature of belief was certainly changing and these changes can be seen at play in the interaction of the religious and secular in the United Kingdom and throughout the empire during January and February 1901.

In *'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain'*, David Cannadine makes the observation that Queen Victoria's 1901 funeral was actually underplayed and 'far less elaborate' than that of the Duke of Wellington in 1852.⁸⁵ Victoria's procession through the streets of London did lack the baroque extravagance, especially the funeral car of the earlier ceremony, but he does seem to have unfairly discounted the numerous earlier and later phases of her funeral that made it too a complex and elaborate affair.⁸⁶ He ignores the numerous parallel commemorations throughout the United Kingdom and across the empire, both on the day of the funeral and during the ten days after Victoria's death. Viewed from this perspective there can have been few more elaborate and protracted celebrations of a death than the wide web of events and ceremonials that surrounded Queen Victoria's passing. The most elaborate and most watched being the final journey of the Queen's body from her bedroom at Osborne to her final resting place in the

⁸⁴ R. Blake, *Disraeli*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1966, pp. 106-107.

⁸⁵ D. Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain,' J. Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, Europa, London, 1981, p. 94-5.

⁸⁶ *Illustrated London News*, 20 November 1852, p. 429 & p. 440 & *Christian World*, 22 November 1852, p. 6.

mausoleum at Frogmore. (Figure 23.) By 1901 there was a greater official recognition of the dynamics of popular sentiment and a newspaper driven belief that scope for public participation in significant public events had to be widened. The level of public involvement in Victoria's funeral is evidence that those in authority were aware of this and acted accordingly.

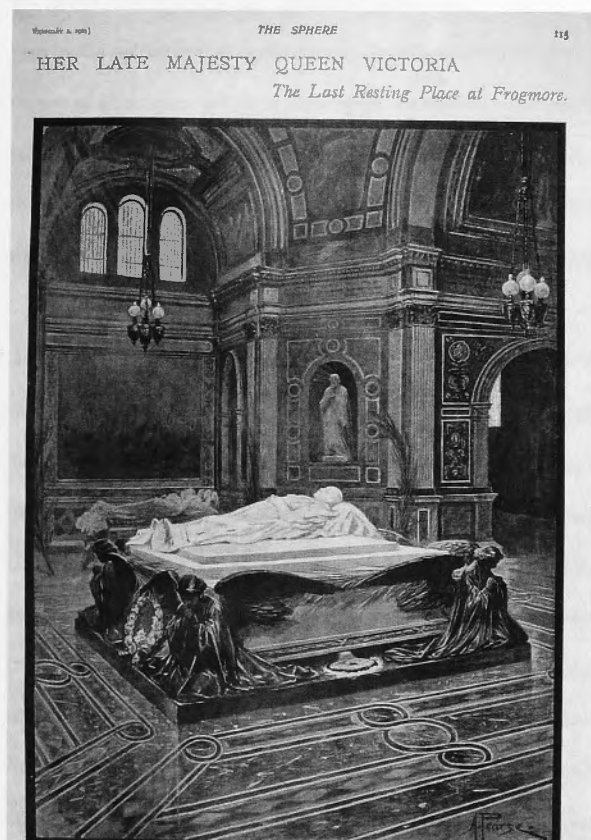


Figure 23. 'The Last Resting Place at Frogmore.' *Sphere*, 2 February 1901, p.115.

A sharp decline in mortality rates at the turn of the twentieth century lessened British society's preoccupation with death. This may be why there was a strong element of shock and surprise at the death of Queen Victoria, despite her advanced age. Part of the power of public reaction lay also in the fact that the passing of the celebrity of the age brought many people into a sudden collective encounter with death that was disconcerting because

it was now relatively unfamiliar. Coupled with this were the wider forces at work, particularly a growth in a consciousness of coherent national and imperial communities fostered by the press and a corresponding awareness of political, military and social celebrities as common reference points for collective identity. Add to this the renaissance of the monarch herself in popular esteem, a process assisted by the sympathies inspired by the grand ceremonial of the Diamond Jubilee and you have, among politicians and potentially disruptive sectional forces, a psychology of response to Victoria's death that triggered an anxiety to affirm underlying consensus and community rather than trying to subvert it. Herein lay the appeal of Queen Victoria's large-scale funeral and public mourning in which the mood of celebration of 1897 was built upon and transformed into the mourning of 1901, sustaining an aura of impressive stability.

At the same time changes in taste regarding funerary and commemorative observance manifested themselves in a greater public sense of solemnity and affinity with the dead Victoria and her grieving family. The church and the armed services were somewhat incongruous collaborators in the delivery of her funeral spectacle but exploited their complementary capacities for effective ceremonial, reinforcing patriotic and nationalistic associations.⁸⁷ The street procession in London permitted a very public sense of participation, while a relaxation by 1901 of the gloom and rigour of earlier Victorian mourning regulations meant that national grief was less contrived and burdensome for the majority of everyday public participants. The use of flowers in the expression of grief, conspicuous in the extravagance of floral tributes to Victoria, also helped to mitigate the masculinity of an essentially military funeral.⁸⁸

In 1901 the sense that a whole era had been wrapped up in the life of the deceased meant that mourning for the individual readily transmuted into a wider reflection on the passage

⁸⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 January 1901, p. 7; *Daily Mail*, 29 January 1901, p. 6 & *Telegraph*, 30 January 1901, p. 5.

⁸⁸ *Graphic*, Supplementary Funeral Number, 9 February 1901, pp. 214-216 & *Black and White*, 8 February 1901, pp. 35-37.

of time and the transience of power and individuals. Writing in 1915 Emile Durkheim said of the communal nature of mourning:

When someone dies, the family group to which he belongs feels itself lessened and, to react against this loss, it assembles. A common misfortune has the same effects as the approach of a happy event: collective sentiments are renewed which then lead men to seek one another and to assemble together... Not only do the relatives, who are affected the most directly, bring their own personal sorrow to the assembly, but the society exercises a moral pressure over its members, to put their sentiments in harmony with the situation.⁸⁹

Marie Corelli, the best selling Victorian novelist, feared that Victoria's death would lead to a national turning away from the values of Christian faith and 'pure and modest' womanhood that the Queen had so powerfully represented.⁹⁰ Thus, people influence each other and 'a veritable panic of sorrow results.' This theory can then be extended from the family and small community context of a close individual death to the enormously broad impact of the death of Victoria. Communal grieving in 1901 was a paradoxical manifestation of Durkheim's general sense of the role of ritual in the affirmation of the underlying ideas and sentiments that gave unity to English, British and in turn imperial society.⁹¹ It was a consensus of mourning rather than an orchestrated event promoting the royal family.

As already noted, the organization of the funeral and commemoration had been largely improvised rather than being the result of any considered strategy to win the public's

⁸⁹ E. Durkheim, J.A. Swain (trans.), *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1915, p. 375.

⁹⁰ M. Corelli, *The Passing of the Great Queen: A Tribute to the noble life of Victoria Regina*, Methuen & Co., London, 1901, pp. 11-12 & p. 19.

⁹¹ E. Durkheim, J.A. Swain (trans.), *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1915, pp. 399-402.

emotions. The time allowed for planning and making arrangements was short, with little time for the implementation of a conscious political strategy. More to the point, any monolithic interpretation of the involvement of the state in Victoria's funeral falls to pieces in an analysis of the range of agencies and individuals involved in its formulation and implementation. Those directly responsible, most prominently the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Esher, Fritz Ponsonby and even Edward VII himself, were more usually preoccupied with personal and sectional corporate status than with promoting national institutions. In the face of such potential for confusion, if not chaos, the actual emergence of a successful and well-supported ceremonial was indicative of a high level of private as well as public consensus.

Souvenirs of such a solemn event are a tricky business, but they were another way that Victoria was commemorated. As with the Diamond Jubilee, acquiring some kind of souvenir of Victoria's death was a way for people to commemorate both the public event and their private experience of it. It would, however, have been considered bad taste for a similar commercial frenzy to the Jubilee to have taken place in 1901. The shops did not fill with cheap mantel piece collectables and the usual street hawking that went with public ceremony was largely absent.⁹² It was through special advertisements in newspapers and magazines that tasteful memorial goods were offered. Black edged newspaper articles themselves became collectibles, cut out and placed in scrap books or even framed, were placed with memorial postcards that were collected and carefully conserved for future generations. (Figure 24.) After the funeral the wreaths themselves became coveted souvenirs as spectators rushed to grab them after the parade had passed.⁹³

⁹² *Graphic*, 10 February 1901, p. 8 & *London Daily News*, 11 February 1901, p. 9.

⁹³ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 3 February 1901, p. 3.

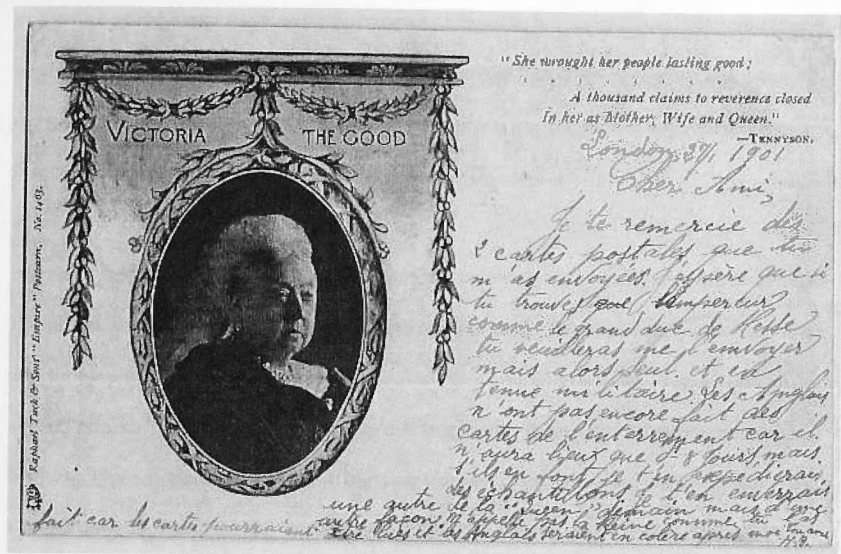


Figure 24. 'Queen Victoria Mourning Card.' 1901, Staffordshire Heritage & Arts Service.

The Times remarked about the funeral that 'perhaps for the first time in London the voice of a hawker of mementoes and programmes was not heard.'⁹⁴ The relative lack of commercialisation may be due to the proximity of the Queen's death to the Diamond Jubilee. Manufacturers of souvenirs may have believed that with the Diamond Jubilee only having occurred in the recent past, the market for products commemorating Victoria may have already been saturated.⁹⁵ They may also have been concerned about the adverse publicity from what might be considered inappropriate profiteering at such an emotional and reflective time. From a practical perspective, there was also only minimal commercial production time between her death and the funeral to produce and distribute appropriate goods for sale. After the funeral, souvenirs were advertised in the major newspapers, nowhere near as many as for the Diamond Jubilee but there were still a number of commemorative items produced to help mark the Queen's passing and differed significantly in tone and quality from those produced in 1897. Most souvenirs in 1901 were

⁹⁴ *The Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 7.

⁹⁵ P.S. Fritz, 'The Trade in Death: The Royal Funerals in England, 1685-1830,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 15, No.3 (Spring, 1982), pp. 291-316.

as sombre as the event itself and all personally related to Victoria. Manufacturers offered souvenirs like commemorative wall plaques (Title Page Part Two) statuettes and busts of the Queen in high end materials like porphyry and jet, photos of her in silver memorial frames, and even a silver 'Victorian Memorial Box'.⁹⁶

Far more numerous than manufactured souvenirs were published remembrances. Publishers also offered special memorial books and pamphlets featuring sermons, poetry, and biographical accounts of Victoria's life and times, ranging in cost from a penny to several pounds.⁹⁷ Newspapers and illustrated magazines issued special numbers marking both the Queen's death and funeral. Ranging in price, these too were very popular: *Lloyd's* funeral number, for example, sold nearly a million and a half copies.⁹⁸ Many special numbers included large portraits that were meant to be displayed in the home. Most were copies of formal, official portraits, and varied in quality, ranging from the *Gentlewoman's* full colour portrait on satin, to many black and white prints on paper.⁹⁹

Rather than advertise their products with the excessive hyperbole of the Diamond Jubilee, manufacturers took a more sentimental, subdued approach to memorial souvenirs. The copy in an advertisement for picture frames began 'Lest we forget her,' and described the frame as an 'exquisite memento' which would 'perpetuate the memory of her late Majesty the Queen amongst our customers.'¹⁰⁰ Another company advertised 'Mourning Brooches' which featured two portraits and the words 'Long Has She Reigned,' and were described as

⁹⁶ *Daily Mail*, 5 February 1901, p. 7 & *Reynolds's News*, 31 March 1901, p. 6.

⁹⁷ For examples see: Anonymous, *Life of Queen Victoria by a Lady of the Court*, R. E. King, London, 1901; M. Corelli, *The Passing of The Great Queen: A Tribute to the Noble Life of Victoria Regina*, Methuen & Co., London, 1901; I. Adair, *Balmoral: The Hall of Memories*, T. and A. Constable, Edinburgh, 1901; R.R. Holmes, *Queen Victoria 1819-1901*, Longmans, London, 1901.

⁹⁸ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 11 February 1901, p. 1. See also: T. Catling, *My Life's Pilgrimage*, John Murray, London, 1911, p. 92.

⁹⁹ *Gentlewoman*, 30 January 1901, p. 14; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 4 February 1901, p. 9 & *Leeds Times*, 2 February 1901, p.11.

¹⁰⁰ *Weekly Times and Echo*, 7 April 1901, p. 14 & *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 4 February 1901, p. 3.

'simple unaffected token of mourning for the Mother of Her People.'¹⁰¹ Souvenirs were advertised in a range of publications aimed at different classes. Mappin Brothers ran advertisements for statuettes and busts in papers as diverse as the *Daily Mail*, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and *Pearson's Weekly*. *Pearson's Weekly* readers were even made a special offer to obtain a 'beautiful ornament for your drawing room mantelpiece for only half a crown.'¹⁰² Even the *Labour Weekly Times and Echo* and *Reynold's News* carried advertisements for Pain Brothers' Silver Photo Frame memento of the Queen's passing.¹⁰³

The style of souvenir and the accompanying advertisements fit with the Victorian desire to memorialise the dead in the home.¹⁰⁴ While such shrines to the departed were usually devoted to keeping alive the memory of close family members, it is likely that the Queen was granted pride of place in many British and imperial parlours. Victoria had been monarch, but she had also seemed to be a mother and friend as well. The availability of portraits, busts, and statuettes, in particular, suggest the way in which the death of the Queen was felt as both a personal and public event. These miniature memorials offered individuals a chance to possess privately a replica of public portrayals of the Queen, and to remember a figure that had long occupied a place in their lives.¹⁰⁵

In another way, souvenir publications made it possible for people to keep Victoria's memory alive. Just as they had during her life, publishers continued after her death to provide readers with stories about the Queen's family, reign, home, and habits. Magazines printed biographical accounts that contained countless pictures of Victoria throughout her life. The memorial number of the *Gentlewoman*, for instance, included sixty-three pictures of

¹⁰¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 January 1901, p. 8 & *Tamworth Herald*, 2 February 1901, p. 2.

¹⁰² *Daily Mail*, 8 February 1901, p. 7; *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Pearson's Weekly*, 9 February 1901, p. 497.

¹⁰³ *Weekly Times and Echo*, p. 14; *Reynolds's News*, 31 March 1901, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴ M. Kerrigan, *The History of Death: Burial Customs and Funeral Rites, from the Ancient World to Modern Times*, Lyons Press, London, 2007, pp. 111-114. See also: J.R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making*, p. 211.

¹⁰⁵ S. Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1984, pp. 181-99.

Victoria, while the *Illustrated London News* featured a four-page spread of forty small 'Portraits of the Queen at Different Periods in Her Life.'¹⁰⁶ Two months after her death, W.T. Stead noted that: 'it will be long before the public tires of hearing stories about Queen Victoria,' and 'the magazines continue to meet the constant demand.'¹⁰⁷

There were many ways for people to mark Victoria's death. As with the Diamond Jubilee, the public and private intersected in the purchase of souvenirs and the collecting of cuttings from newspapers and magazines. Such activities reflected the desire of many men and women to be involved through marking the occasion, making a permanent record of her passing and acknowledging their sense of personal loss. The level of participation in the mourning for Victoria also reflected the common belief that her death was of great historical significance.

¹⁰⁶ *Gentlewoman*, 30 January 1901, p. 18 & *Illustrated London News*, Memorial Number, 26 January 1901, pp. 9-12.

¹⁰⁷ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 March 1901, p. 165.

7. With Deep Sympathy and Affection

'I am ready to meet my maker. Whether my maker is prepared for the great ordeal of meeting me is another matter.'¹ So said Winston Churchill as death approached, famously reflecting on his prickly reputation. Queen Victoria had an equally prickly reputation and it would not have been surprising if those close to her in her final hours were thinking similar thoughts about her imminent appointment with her maker. One of the people closest of all in her final hours was Randall Davidson, Bishop of Winchester and soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury who was summoned to her bedside when Victoria's doctors deemed that she was approaching the end. We know, from a letter he wrote to his wife, that he had empathy for the personal dimension of what was happening before him but could see that this particular death went beyond the personal in being 'a solemn moment in British History, or the history of the world.' He went on to tell his wife how he worried that because of the length of her reign, the death of this particular monarch was beyond 'any precedent within people's memory or knowledge.' 'It does', he went on, 'give one suggestive thoughts about national life and its meaning.'² Not to mention the big question: Was her maker quite ready for the imminent arrival of a figure as feisty as Queen Victoria?

Of course, on a personal level the endpoint of life was exactly the same in its nature for Queen Victoria as it was for the most obscure of her subjects. Death is the great leveller. Much of the public fascination with this and other comparable celebrity deaths hinges on precisely this point: the death of someone famous is a disconcerting reminder of everyone else's mortality. Nevertheless, the aftermath of such a prominent death differed greatly from that following the death of an ordinary person. On the day after Queen Victoria died on 22 January 1901 a remarkable scene was witnessed at St Paul's Cathedral on an

¹ E. Knowles, (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, Churchill.

² LPL: DavP 19/101B. R. Davidson, Davidson to Mrs Davidson, 21 January 1901, *Davidson Papers*, Lambeth Palace Library.

otherwise ordinary winter weekday afternoon. Without any invitation to do so, the building 'filled from end to end,' with more than five thousand people 'all in deep mourning, and all as still and reverent as any congregation could be.'³ Such a manifestation of public feeling suggests that Davidson's sense of the gravity and significance of the event was shared by many others. In the next few weeks, across Great Britain and the empire, obituary columns were written, public meetings and church services held and an enormous and reverent crowd attended Victoria's funeral procession. All of these public actions testifying to the great depth of emotion that was focused on the demise of this single human being.⁴

As a political entity, in 1901, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was defined by the institution of monarchy, as citizens attested every time they sang the national anthem. The person and the image of Queen Victoria was, by the time of her death, a central expression of national cohesion. Moreover, with Victoria's elevation to being Empress of India in 1876, the powerful symbol of the Crown as a pivot of imperial unity was also reinforced.⁵ As we have already seen, these ties were clearly on display during the Diamond Jubilee and would be again at her funeral in England and at the many other commemorations held across Britain and the empire in 1901.

At the beginning of Victoria's reign, as at its end, reactions to death played a significant part in shaping the world of the living. An essential characteristic of the world at the time of Queen Victoria's death was that it was now possible for people to know with some speed and precision about events taking place at a distance. They were, however, still not able to listen to or watch them in real time unless they were physically present at an event. In our age the urge to feel a sense of participation in mourning by listening to or watching

³ LPL: DavP 19/506, fos. 12-13. William Sinclair to Davidson.

⁴ Evidenced in the two large volumes of newspaper clippings held in the British Library, one volume of United Kingdom newspaper clippings and another of international newspaper clippings.

⁵ R. Williams, *The Contentious Crown: Public Discussion of the British Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997, p. 6.

the funeral of a celebrity like Diana, Princess of Wales as it happens in real time can be satisfied in private in our own home in numerous electronic ways but in January 1901 only physical and public attendance was available to capture the immediacy of history being made.⁶ Newspaper coverage was extensive, but the nature of print production still led to what we would now consider lengthy gaps in getting the news. Reading the newspaper coverage of Victoria's death provided observation rather than physical participation in mourning. Throughout Great Britain and across the empire numerous newspaper reports show how churches played a central role in meeting the need of physically mourning the Queen. They drew much larger congregations than normal on the Sunday and even weekdays following Victoria's death and attendance at the official services at churches on the day of the funeral often hit records.⁷

Sixteen published sermons on the death of Queen Victoria from those many church services are listed at the British Library.⁸ It would be reasonable to conclude that these published sermons and others deemed worthy of being summarised in the newspapers were representative in sentiment and outlook to the countless unrecorded sermons now lost to posterity. The specific motives for publication are obscure but would seem to be a response to a public demand for tasteful commemorative souvenirs, while the authors no doubt also saw an opportunity to enhance their own professional standing by having themselves in print.

There is a discernible pattern in the surviving memorial sermons. They begin with a sustained exposition of an appropriate biblical text, the connection with the Queen's death at first kept implicit. 'In Christ shall all be made alive' from I Corinthians and 'sympathy is

⁶ J. Davies, *Diana A Cultural History: Gender, Race, Nation and the People's Princess*, Palgrave, New York, 2001, p. 7.

⁷ It is almost impossible to find contemporary newspaper coverage of the event, in the United Kingdom and around the empire, that does not make note or give detailed coverage of local church services.

⁸ A. Mackennal, *A Completed Life: Sermon preached... after the death of Queen Victoria*, James Clarke & Co., London, 1901, is an excellent example held at the British Library.

the chord which binds us man to man' from Matthew (Beatitudes) were both common.⁹ Then they explicitly refer to Victoria's death and turn to a panegyric, drawing out moral and spiritual lessons and finally concluding with a direct exhortation for people to be mindful of their own mortality, spiritual state and eternal prospects. The timing, from the average length, seems to have been about half an hour or less. They were straight forward and didactic in content, the complete package offering spiritual comfort rather than a direct challenge to repent.¹⁰ Obviously this picture varied a little according to theological and ecclesiastical persuasion, but the general pattern remained amazingly consistent.

The panegyric element in the sermons related primarily not to death but rather to the Queen's qualities in life that were considered worthy of admiration and emulation. The closest thing to criticism that can be detected is in a sermon where there is a brief mention of the charge that she had mourned too long for Albert. Even this reference, however, was immediately turned on its head with the suggestion that although she might have withdrawn from the pomp of royalty she still honoured her essential obligations.¹¹ 'Celebration' was the word that dominated a sermon by John Harrison, who saw Victoria's death after a long life and successful reign as well earned rest.¹² The sermons project, through Victoria's image, those qualities that were perceived as the most-positive and fundamental for national and imperial life. She was often described as the mother of her people and not surprisingly for members of the clergy, to have greatly raised the prestige of the monarchy and upheld the place of religion in national life. Her beneficent reign was

⁹ Respectively: H.H. Henson, *A Sermon Preached at Westminster Abbey on the Occasion of the Death of Queen Victoria*, 1901 & S.A. Brooke, *A Memorial Sermon on the Funeral of the Queen*, 1901.

¹⁰ A.G. Burnett, *Our late Queen Victoria: a sermon preached in Kemnay Chapel on Sunday afternoon February 3rd 1901*, James Murray, Aberdeen, 1901, BL. YA.1997.a.1766. See also: A. Mackennal, *A Completed Life*, 1901.

¹¹ This was noted by an East End rabbi in a sermon that dwelt on Victoria's Judaic virtues: J.A. Goldstein, *A Sermon on the Occasion of a Memorial Service Held in Memory of her Late Most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria*, 1901, pp. 7-8.

¹² J. Harrison, *A Queen Indeed! A Funeral sermon on the death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria*, Skeffington & Son, London, 1901, held at the British Library.

'the most glorious ... in human history.'¹³ Its ending marking the passage of time and the ringing of the 'knell of the departed century.'¹⁴

According to Davis, by 1901 the perception of death as divine judgement was nearly gone in Britain.¹⁵ In its place there was an emphasis on the moral power of grief to inspire national solidarity and sympathy. There was already evidence of this in 1892 when these words were spoken at the funeral of the Duke of Clarence:

Wherever the English tongue is spoken there will be Human Sympathy - true and deep and honest Human Sympathy. Addresses, newspaper reports, telegrams, private letters, whatsoever else, will be no mere expressions of etiquette; but the outcome of that broad and generous love that knows because it has suffered.¹⁶

There was a growing tendency of the general public in much of the United Kingdom to identify their own personal bereavements with those of the royal family.¹⁷ Such sympathy with the throne, in the eyes of Randall Davidson, was an invaluable safeguard of political stability and an inspiration to national prayer and repentance.¹⁸ England's story, according to Davidson, was interwoven with signs of divine guidance which were especially apparent in the solidarity of purpose evident at times of national grief and celebration.¹⁹ (Figure 25.)

¹³ A.M. Maclean, *Queen Victoria and her time: Three Sermons*, David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1901, p. 11, held at the British Library.

¹⁴ M. Hyamson, *In Memoriam. Queen Victoria 1837-1901. A sermon*, Willis & Co., London, 1901, held at the British Library.

¹⁵ M. Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*, Verso, 2002, New York, pp. 1-16.

¹⁶ Anon., 'He that Comforteth' *A plain sermon on the death of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence*, Skeffington & Son, London, 1892, British Library.

¹⁷ C. Arnold, *Necropolis: London and its Dead*, Pocket Books, London, 2007, p. 272 & J.S. Curl, *A Celebration of Death*, Batsford, London, 1993, p. 35.

¹⁸ Letter from Davidson to Boyd Carpenter, 26 January 1901, Davidson Papers, LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.17.

¹⁹ R.T. Davidson, *From Strength to Strength*, London, 1910, held at LPL.



Figure 25. 'Memorial service for Queen Victoria, 2 February 1901,' F29512 1/2, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna.

Finally, these memorial sermons about Victoria provided an opportunity to affirm the inclusiveness of the nation and the empire, especially in relation to groups that would in normal times be considered marginal or disadvantaged. To Eldridge, the Queen was 'A very real woman to all her people, surrounding herself with none of the mysteries of courts, and claiming no exemption from human judgement by reason of her royalty, she became to all the world the very embodiment of virtue and practical wisdom in a sovereign.'²⁰ Significantly, none of the sermons betray any pattern of geographical or denominational difference. Catholic sermons, for example, were only superficially different from Protestant, although a number of priests appear to have limited themselves to reading pastoral letters from their bishop.²¹ Father Bernard Vaughan, at the Spanish Place Church, London, paid tribute to Victoria and affirmed the 'unswerving loyalty' of Catholics to the throne, while the Reverend Matthew Grogan dwelt on the womanly qualities shared by

²⁰ P.X. Eldridge, *Our Mother-Queen A sermon preached on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria*, Vacher & Sons, London, 1901, BL: 10806.dd.8.(2), p. 2.

²¹ N. Schofield & G. Skinner, *The English Cardinals*, Family Publications, London, 2007, p. 86.

Victoria and the Virgin Mary.²² The common theme of all the sermons reported in the *Tablet* was the extent to which toleration of Catholicism had advanced during the Queen's reign.²³

According to Esther Schor, in *Bearing the Dead*, by 1901 funeral sermons - like churches themselves - were less authoritative than they had been in the past in shaping public mood.²⁴ Nevertheless the *Scotsman* acknowledged, in that year, that they were still a force. 'Other public voices may in our day have come into competition with the pulpit and deprived it of the singular prominence and power it once possessed, but there is evident ground for the sober judgement that, if its influence is relatively less than it was, its ability and eloquence was never greater nor more general throughout the churches.'²⁵ Certainly, the extensive and detailed reporting of funeral sermons about Victoria by the local, national and colonial press shows that they remained an important channel for the shaping of sentiment and encapsulating beliefs. Their success no doubt depended on the capacity of the speaker to articulate wider public emotions and to provide a perspective that rang true to the people who heard or read them.

Contemporary newspaper accounts also made special mention of the large crowds drawn to memorial services in January 1901. In Cardiff, on the Sunday following Queen Victoria's death, 'the attendance at places of worship, notwithstanding a gale that raged, was far greater than the average.'²⁶ On the day of her funeral St John's Church Cardiff was filled to capacity while the police struggled to keep the roadway outside clear of the crowds that could not get in. At Llandaff Cathedral, 'every available space was occupied, large numbers

²² *The Times*, 26 January & 4 February 1901, p.5. See also: M. Walsh, *Westminster Cardinals*, Burns & Oates, London, 2009, p. 112-113.

²³ *Tablet*, 2 February 1901, pp. 189-193.

²⁴ E. Schor, *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994, p. 109.

²⁵ *Scotsman*, 31 January 1901, p. 3.

²⁶ *Cardiff Times*, 2 February 1901, p. 2. See also: *South Wales Daily News*, 3 February 1901, p. 1.

standing in the aisles and in front of the rails of the Communion table.' The Free Church service at the Park Hall could have been filled 'half-a-dozen times over' with the crowd outside.²⁷ In Leeds on the same day there were full services at many places of worship, despite a tram-drivers' strike and 'thoroughly inclement weather.'²⁸

Such packed churches do not, of course, translate into universal religious participation, and most people at the time were obviously happy enough to limit their participation in the mourning process to simple and everyday gestures of mourning. Nevertheless, there is more than enough evidence from newspapers in January 1901 that churches and religious services did serve as foci for organised national mourning and must have drawn in many participants who were not regular Sunday attenders.²⁹ The indications are that many of those on the fringes of organised religion found the combination of patriotism, the sense of occasion and the emotional hymn-singing, a powerful magnet drawing them to relatively unaccustomed participation in public mourning and church worship for their dead Queen.

Such local, national and imperial opportunities for public mourning and observance provided by organised religion were extremely important in 1901 and not operating in a vacuum. There was considerable interaction between the religious ritual and the civic ritual that was also taking place at the time. According to Bocock 'religious ritual by its nature involves a sense of contact with the transcendent; and civic ritual, concerns itself primarily with group consciousness.' He goes on to say that a ritual can be both religious and civic at the same time.³⁰ Such overlap and association was inherent in most of the local community mourning following the death of Queen Victoria which ranged from explicit mainstream

²⁷ *South Wales Daily News*, 4 February 1901, p. 1. See also: *Western Mail*, 4 February 1901, p. 3.

²⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 4 February 1901, p. 1. See also: *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 4 February 1901, p. 2.

²⁹ According to *The Times*, 2 February 1901, parishes across Britain were reporting record congregations and it was specially noted that clergy had made note of the number of unfamiliar attenders swelled the numbers around the time of Victoria's death and funeral. See also: E. Schor, *Bearing the Dead*, p. 109-110.

³⁰ R. Bocock, *Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1974, pp. 60-62.

religious activities such as church services, to primarily secular ones such as erecting statues. I have chosen the cities of Leeds, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Dublin to serve as four enlightening and contrasting British case studies of this process in action.

Observance in Leeds on the death of Queen Victoria expressed interlinked concerns, affirming religious harmony and asserting civic dignity. The town was given the status of a county borough in 1889, it became a city in 1893, and its chief magistrate was given the status of Lord Mayor in 1897.³¹ The laying out of a City Square at the turn of century gave physical expression to this enhanced status. Victoria's death was marked in Leeds in a dignified and consistent manner.³² A civic procession from the town hall to the parish church took place and the town hall bell was tolled. In January 1901 there were two observances, one on the Sunday after Queen Victoria's death and the other on the day of her funeral. These processions, led by Anglican clergy in robes followed by local politicians, government officials in suits, Friendly Societies, Trade Union groups and at regular intervals the municipal band and other military bands, all in uniform, travelled a distance of one and a half kilometres across the main commercial and business district of the city. Pickering provides evidence of extensive Trade Union involvement in commemorative processions in Liverpool dating back to 1838.³³ Normally the town hall and the parish church are competing focal points in a town or city's public life but on these two occasions they were linked in public spectacles that could be viewed by thousands of spectators in the main streets. There was a strong emphasis on consensus in this city expressed in the full range of observances and events marking a national bereavement.

³¹ LCL: VCR/a27. *Victoria RI, Queen and Emprass. Official Programme and Illustrative Souvenir of the Unveiling of the Queen Victoria Memorial Statue*, Leeds, 1905, pp. 10-11. Local History section of Leeds Central Library.

³² J. Darke, *The Monument Guide to England and Wales. A National Portrait in Bronze and Stone*, Macdonald Illustrated, London, 1991, pp. 223-224.

³³ *Yorkshire Post*, 4 February 1901, p. 2-3 & P.A. Pickering, 'The Hearts of the Millions: Chartism and Popular Monarchism in the 1840s', *History*, Volume 88, Issue 290, pp. 227-248. See also: *Leeds Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 2.

News of Queen Victoria's death reached Leeds at seven o'clock in the evening and performances had already started at two theatres. Crowds gradually gathered outside them and loudly demanded that the productions be stopped. At the Grand Theatre the police had to prevent people from forcing their way in. The management of both theatres duly complied.³⁴ There was then debate as to whether all shops should be closed on the day of the funeral but a firm lead from the Lord Mayor in favour of closure was generally complied with, except in poorer areas where opening was condoned as sparing inconvenience to the inhabitants.³⁵ The *Leeds Mercury* saw the suspension of business as 'a solemn rite' in which everyone felt they must take part. Two discordant notes, however, were struck by publicans who only closed in the middle of the day and by tram drivers who went on strike, arguing that as the King had declared a day of mourning they should not be required to work.³⁶ The civic procession on Sunday 27 January was watched by a large and orderly crowd, and again on the day of her funeral by a 'dense mass' of people, despite unpleasant weather and transport difficulties.³⁷ Again the parish churches were packed. Similarly crowded services were held in many other Anglican and Nonconformist churches.³⁸

The Lord Mayor and the Vicar processed together to the church followed by local politicians, dignitaries and community representatives marching to the rhythm of sombre band marches, in front of crowds of soberly dressed people who made the footpaths almost impassable. Many children were present. After the service military bands led the procession back to the town hall, now playing a quickstep, a reminder that the service itself was felt to provide a close to the mournful mood and that reaffirmation of ongoing

³⁴ *York Herald*, 24 January 1901, p. 2 & *Yorkshire Post*, 23 January 1901, p. 1.

³⁵ *Hull Daily Mail*, 23 January 1901, p. 1; *Yorkshire Post*, 23 January 1901, p. 3 & *Leeds Mercury*, 24 January 1901, p. 1.

³⁶ *Leeds Mercury*, 4 February 1901, p. 1 & *Leeds Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 3.

³⁷ *Yorkshire Post*, 28 January 1901, p. 3 & *York Herald*, 26 January 1901, p. 1.

³⁸ *Sheffield Independent*, 5 February 1901, p. 6; *Yorkshire Post*, 4 February 1901, p. 2 & *Leeds Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 1.

normal life was now considered appropriate.³⁹ In the meantime dense overflowing congregations could also be seen at other churches; the Free Churches gathered for a united service at Oxford Place Chapel, complemented by services in many other places of worship both in the city centre and the suburbs.⁴⁰ The sheer size of Leeds by the end of nineteenth century makes it unlikely that all the population would have been physically able to actively participate in such public civic mourning in the way that might well have been possible in smaller towns. They just all would not fit. Even if the newspaper reports of packed churches and crowds amounting to tens of thousands on the streets are taken as accurate, the numbers involved would still have represented only a minority of the population. There were occasional hints of the limits to popular consensus, such as the tram-drivers' strike on the day of the funeral and complaints at the continuing opening of public houses. Nevertheless, the protests by crowds at theatres serve as an indication that any such cracks in the facade did not necessarily occur simply on class lines. Although the tram drivers were attacked in the press for inconveniencing the public, they themselves claimed respectful motives in not wishing to run their vehicles while the funeral was taking place.⁴¹ Importantly, whatever private thoughts and alternative activities might have been, the remarkable harmony of publicly expressed sentiment left little scope for open dissent.

The development of Cardiff in the Victorian era was also distinctive. Whereas Leeds was a substantial and established town well before the nineteenth century, in the census of 1801 Cardiff was still only a large village, with a population of less than 1,900. By 1851, even though its population had increased nearly ten times in fifty years, it was still a relatively small place with a population only just over 18,000. In 1901, however, continued vigorous growth combined with an extension of its boundaries in 1875, to produce a further massive increase to 160,000, a proportionate rate of expansion in the later nineteenth

³⁹ *Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough*, 5 February 1901, p. 4 & *Yorkshire Post*, 4 February 1901, p. 2.

⁴⁰ *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 5 February 1901, p. 5 & *Leeds Mercury*, 4 February 1901, p. 4.

⁴¹ *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 6 February 1901, p. 3. See also: *Leeds Mercury*, 4 February 1901, p. 2.

century that was second only to Middlesbrough among major British towns.⁴² Cardiff's growth was founded on its role as the major port and commercial centre serving the South Wales coalfield, with an occupational structure dominated by workers in transport and manufacturing but also with a substantial prosperous middle-class element.⁴³ When Victoria came to the throne, it was a small pocket borough strongly under the influence of the second Marquess of Bute (1793-1848), whose development of the docks laid the foundations of its subsequent boom. By the time of her death in 1901 it had become a proud and independent place, recognised as a city in 1907, and increasingly regarded, at least by its own citizens, as the de facto capital of Wales. Its own development was thus bound up with the process that Kenneth Morgan has characterized as the 'rebirth of a nation' in the Principality.⁴⁴

When news of Queen Victoria's death reached Cardiff and was communicated to the town by the sounding of the *Western Mail* siren, a large crowd rapidly gathered in St Mary Street. At the Empire Theatre a picture show was suddenly interrupted with the news and a portrait of the Queen projected on the screen while the band started to play the 'Dead March.' Unfortunately, according to the *Western Mail*, boys in the gallery had not heard the announcement and started to cheer but were quickly 'hushed' by the adults, and the whole audience rapidly subsided into a sombre silence broken only by the band.⁴⁵ The next day a special meeting of the full town council recorded unanimously its 'most profound and heartfelt grief at the death of the most illustrious and venerable Sovereign who has ever adorned the British throne.'⁴⁶ On the following Sunday morning church and chapel

⁴² T. Lambert, 'A Short History of Cardiff,' *Histories of Welsh Towns*, <http://www.localhistories.org/Cardiff.html>.

⁴³ M.J. Daunton, *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1977, pp. 1-14.

⁴⁴ M.J. Daunton, *Coal Metropolis*, 1977, pp. 17-18.

⁴⁵ *Western Mail*, 23 January 1901, p. 5 & *Cardiff Times*, 23 January 1901, p. 2.

⁴⁶ *North Wales Chronicle*, 26 January 1901, p. 3. & *Western Mail*, 28 January 1901, p. 2.

services generally assumed a memorial character and they as elsewhere were reported as unusually well attended.⁴⁷

Official arrangements for the day of the funeral were left to the personal discretion of the Mayor who formally announced that he would be attending service at St John's and 'kindly asked' members and officials of the corporation to join him.⁴⁸ An unspecified number duly did so. A civic procession was formed and made its way to a packed church in front of a large, orderly and solemn crowd. Meanwhile a service at Llandaff Cathedral was similarly filled to capacity and Volunteer companies paraded for a service at their own drill hall, while others marched to St Andrew's Church. Nevertheless, the largest congregations of all were to be found at Nonconformist services, notably at the Park Hall and at Wood Street Congregational Church. The Welsh Church, Dewi Sant, also held a service, as did the synagogue. It was reported that 'every place where services were announced were crowded out long before the hour of service.' Indeed it would appear that on this occasion the supply of religious services in Cardiff was actually insufficient to meet public demand. The one exception was St Mary's Church where the choral requiem service only drew between 500 and 600 people, less than half the capacity of the building. In Cardiff it was Protestant expressions of mourning that had the greatest appeal.⁴⁹

In 1901 Cardiff showed an increasing consciousness of its status as 'the metropolis of Wales', a phrase that first appeared in connection with commemorative observances in 1898. In July 1898 the Public Works Committee of the council received a circular proposing the erection of monuments to Gladstone 'in the capitals of England, Scotland and Ireland' and responded with an unanimous resolution to the effect that a similar

⁴⁷ *Cardiff Times*, 2 February 1901, p. 3 & *Wrexham Advertiser*, 3 February 1901, p. 2.

⁴⁸ *Western Mail*, 29 January 1901, p. 3 & *Cardiff Times*, 31 January 1901, p. 5.

⁴⁹ *South Wales Daily News*, 4 February 1901, pp. 2-3. See also: *Western Mail*, 5 February 1901, p. 4.

memorial should be erected in Cardiff 'as the capital of Wales.'⁵⁰ Local comment in 1901 reflected a similar sense of a developing Welsh identity linked to growing local pride. Such identity presented itself as fundamentally consistent with wider loyalty: the 'good government' of Victoria, had, according to the *Cardiff Times*, 'finally won the reverence and love of the Welsh people for the British throne.'⁵¹ Cardiff was becoming increasingly confident in finding forms of commemoration that reflected its own distinctive sense of civic community and loyalty. There was still a widespread fundamental focus on public religious observance demonstrated by extensive church attendance in the aftermath of Victoria's death. Civic ritual seems to have built upon religious ritual rather than attempting to replace it here. Cardiff's blending of forms of collective mourning expressed a wider consensus and a necessary corollary of its own gradual emergence during this period as the acknowledged capital of Wales.

Edinburgh, in contrast to Leeds and Cardiff, had long enjoyed the status of a capital city and its response to Queen Victoria's death reflected a self-conscious awareness of its wider representative function in relation to Scotland as a whole. The population (including Leith) was 194,000 in 1851, making it slightly larger in overall size than Leeds at the same date, although in Edinburgh people were more concentrated in the crowded central districts. Subsequent growth, however, was slower and in 1901 Edinburgh, with 395,000 people had been overtaken by Leeds.⁵² A further contrast lay in occupational and social structure: Edinburgh had a particularly numerous legal, commercial, academic, and ecclesiastical middle class, in 1881 employing 20.51 percent of the occupied population in domestic service, compared with 10.1 percent in Leeds. Edinburgh's working classes were spread among a wide variety of small-scale artisan and service industries. There were great extremes of wealth and poverty: between the splendid Georgian terraces of the New Town

⁵⁰ *Cardiff Times*, 28 July 1898, p. 4. See also: *North Wales Chronicle*, 8 August 1898, p. 3.

⁵¹ *Cardiff Times*, 26 January 1901, p. 2. & *Western Mail*, 28 January 1901, p. 5.

⁵² B.R. Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1962, pp. 24-25.

and the more recent middle-class developments of Morningside and Newington, lay the crowded slums of the Old Town, with their population swelled by a significant recent Irish influx.⁵³ Liberalism was politically dominant until the Home Rule split of 1886, but the Tories were not wholly eclipsed.⁵⁴

Again, as in Cardiff, Edinburgh's commemoration of the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 was marked by ceremonial and a convergence of civic and religious ritual. Following the death of the monarch the council held a special meeting which was opened in prayer by the Minister of St Giles', after which the Lord Provost moved an address of condolence.⁵⁵ A large formal service was held in St Giles' on the funeral day. The Minister, James Cameron Lees, gave the memorial sermons evoking his idealised perception of common feeling and sentiment between the royal family and the Scottish people. Mourning draperies were widely displayed by businesses, and sombre, reverent crowds gathered outside the cathedral and in other public places. A consensus was perceived by the *Scotsman*, which noted in 1901 that people turned out in large numbers, not only for the pageantry of St Giles' but also for the 'quiet unostentatious services' in suburban and working-class districts. During the day the local police made only two arrests, whereas the average Saturday figure was 'about 80 or 90.'⁵⁶ Even if this was mostly attributable to the closure of public-houses, it was still suggestive of far-reaching acceptance of the consensual mood that the circumstances required a particularly decorous standard of behaviour. There is no indication in the newspaper coverage at the time of any opposition.

⁵³ R.Q. Gray, *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2nd edit. 1981, pp. 9-27.

⁵⁴ W.H. Marwick, 'Municipal Politics in Victorian Edinburgh,' *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, Edinburgh, Vol.33, 1969, pp. 31-35.

⁵⁵ *Scotsman*, 25 January 1901, p. 4. See also: *Carlisle Express and Examiner*, 26 January 1901, p. 7.

⁵⁶ *Dundee Courier*, 4 February 1901, p. 5; *Glasgow Herald*, 5 February 1901, p. 3 & *Scotsman*, 4 February 1901, p. 2.

Thus, in Edinburgh, as elsewhere, the forms and symbols of religious mourning constituted the dominant means of expression of communal grief for Queen Victoria. If Presbyterian suspicion of such rituals lingered at all, it was overwhelmed by the public pressure to express grief in a manner that since the mid-nineteenth century had become much more British. The Scottish capital was, like many other cities across the empire at this time, growing bigger, wealthier and developing a consciousness of its own civic dignity.⁵⁷ However, the citizens of Edinburgh just like those across the empire, were fully aware from the press coverage alone that the main act of this drama would be played out to the South in the ceremonies taking place in London and Windsor. The commemorative events in Scotland were part of a continuing and developing, but minor, expression of a developing 'unionist nationalism'.⁵⁸

Nineteenth-century Dublin, by way of contrast to the other three cities, was generally perceived at the time as a city in decline, suffering both politically and economically from the loss of the Irish Parliament in 1800 and further ravaged by the devastating demographic and social impact of the Great Famine of the 1840s.⁵⁹ Certainly it was faced by problems of poverty and public health that were more extreme even than those of most contemporary British towns and the population within the old city boundaries was almost unchanged during the second half of the nineteenth century, at 258,389 in 1851 and 260,035 in 1901.⁶⁰ When the suburbs are taken into account, however, there was a notable rising trend, from 317,837 in 1851 to 381,492 in 1901 but the rate of growth was still proportionately much the lowest of the British cities in 1901 being looked at here.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *Edinburgh Evening News*, 18 September 1899, pp. 5-7. See also: M. Fry, *Edinburgh: A History of the City*, Pan, London, 2010, pp. 398-400.

⁵⁸ C. Kidd, 'Race, Empire, and the Limits of Nineteenth-Century Scottish Nationhood,' *The Historical Journal*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Vol. 43, 2003, pp. 873-892.

⁵⁹ M. O'Brien, *The Irish Times: A History*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2008, pp. 96-111. See also: A. MacLaren, *Dublin: The Shaping of a Capital*, Belhaven Press, London, 1993, pp. 37-40.

⁶⁰ A. MacLaren, *Dublin: The Shaping of a Capital*, Belhaven Press, London, 1993, pp. 37-40.

⁶¹ M.E. Daly, *Dublin the Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History 1860-1914*, Cork University Press, Cork, 1984, pp. 1-5 & 18-19.

Nevertheless the modest increase in Dublin's population in the later nineteenth century ran against the tide of decline in the Irish population as a whole in the decades after the famine. It indicates that the capital, together with its great rival, Belfast, was assuming increasing demographic and economic importance in relation to the rest of Ireland. Moreover, in the face of the abject poverty of most of Ireland, the city had a significant professional and commercial middle class and was the cultural, administrative, and political focus of Irish life, as both the vice-regal seat and the centre of Irish nationalist activity.⁶² In religious terms Roman Catholicism was numerically dominant, making up 77 percent of the city's population in 1861, rising to 83 percent by 1911 but the Protestant minority was more substantial than in any other part of Ireland outside Ulster, and was over-represented among the middle and upper classes.⁶³ In Dublin, in contrast to Ulster, the great majority of Protestants were Anglicans. The city's religious and political divisions were reflected in the composition of its municipal council which in the decades following the reform of the Irish corporations in 1840, consistently had a Catholic and nationalist majority and a Protestant and unionist minority. These blocks, however, were not monolithic: Protestants included Liberals as well as Conservatives and in the latter part of the century the nationalists were exposed to the same fragmentation as their counterparts in the country as a whole. Indeed, the Dublin Municipal Council at times came close to itself assuming the role of a surrogate parliament, debating issues that went far outside its own direct responsibilities.⁶⁴ In this context its responses to the death of Victoria, alongside the wider cultural and religious pattern of reaction in the city as a whole, provides a revealing microcosm of Irish attitudes to British rule and nationalist aspiration.

⁶² M. Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860*, Liberties Press, Dublin, 2007, pp. 329-332. See also: A. MacLaren, *Dublin: The Shaping of a Capital*, Belhaven Press, London, 1993, pp. 37-40.

⁶³ G.A. Boyd, *Dublin, 1745-1922: Hospitals, Spectacle and Vice*, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2006, pp. 203-206.

⁶⁴ M.E. Daly, *Dublin the Deposed Capital*, 1984, pp. 18-19 & A. MacLaren, *Dublin: The Shaping of a Capital*, Belhaven Press, London, 1993, pp. 203-221.

In Dublin, as with most things to do with British royalty, mourning Queen Victoria proved to be contentious. According to the Unionist *Irish Times*, the nationalist majority in the council felt that its courtesy the previous year in offering an address of welcome to the Queen on her visit to Dublin had been interpreted by many as acceptance of the constitutional situation of Ireland.⁶⁵ It was, therefore, concerned that a vote of condolence should not be similarly misinterpreted. They refused to allow such a resolution to be proposed at the beginning of the routine meeting held on the day following the Queen's death. When it was brought up again at the end of the meeting, an amendment was proposed by Councillor Harrington who had just been elected Lord Mayor for the following year, to the effect that an expression of sympathy was not a demonstration of loyalty. After what was reported as a 'heated debate,' in which moderate nationalists concurred with unionists in seeing the issue as non-political, the amendment was defeated but only by a margin of thirty votes to twenty-two.⁶⁶ The *Freeman's Journal* reinforcing the discordant theme by characterizing the late Queen as disastrously alienated from the cause of religious and social emancipation in Ireland and with a sharp edge to their charity asked: 'may her virtues be remembered; and may her mistakes be blotted out in the waters of an Infinite Mercy.'⁶⁷

Nevertheless wider public sentiment quietly acquiesced to the strong levels of mourning apparent among the Protestant community. On the night of the Queen's death large crowds gathered in Dublin's streets;⁶⁸ both on the following Sunday and on the day of the funeral itself unusually large congregations attended the Church of Ireland cathedrals and other Protestant places of worship.⁶⁹ The Unionist outgoing Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Pile

⁶⁵ *Irish Times*, 8 April 1901, p. 3 & *Meath Chronicle*, 26 January 1901, p. 7.

⁶⁶ *Irish Times*, 24 January 1901, p. 2 & *Freeman's Journal*, 23 January 1901, p. 2.

⁶⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 23 January 1901, p. 3; *Irish Times*, 23 January 1901, p. 4 & *Anglo Celt*, 24 January 1901, p. 3.

⁶⁸ *Nation*, 23 January 1901, p. 1; *Irish Times*, 23 January 1901, p. 2. & *Meath Chronicle*, 24 January 1901, p. 2.

⁶⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 28 January 1901, p. 4 & *Irish Times*, 28 January 1901, p. 1 & 4 February 1901, p. 1.

and a minority of the council attended the memorial service at St Patrick's.⁷⁰ Catholics and nationalists might have held themselves apart from such official commemorations but the sombre appearance of the streets during the days following the Queen's death and almost universal wearing of black indicates that even the majority of Catholics felt it right to at least respect the mood of the moment.⁷¹ Indeed many went further insofar as it was reported that 'the evening tramcars on Sunday were filled not only with Protestants but with many poor Catholics who had been to hear a requiem or say a prayer for the Queen.'⁷²

In 1901, Dublin, despite its divided political and religious allegiances, appeared to be feeling its way towards forms of shared expression of grief that recognised its own diversities and were perceived as consensual and universal rather than partisan and exclusive. In particular, in marked contrast to the civic authorities, the general public seems to have recognised a responsibility to seek to bridge religious divisions and found that the emotional and spiritual reactions stirred by Victoria's death gave them an opportunity to do so. In this respect the trend in Dublin was similar to that observed in the other British cities discussed, even if the local circumstances were more extreme and the degree of harmony achieved accordingly more transient and fragile.

When the other British cases are themselves reviewed in the light of the Dublin experience, the force of underlying consensus in the other cities is highlighted. Elsewhere votes of condolence were seldom contested and if there was dissent from the official response represented in church services and processions, it seldom went beyond quiet abstention of the kind that leaves no trace on the historical record. The main point was to assert a sense of local participation in a greater whole, through appropriate formal actions and ritual observance. The mourning at the death of Queen Victoria might be refracted through the

⁷⁰ *Southern Star*, 1 February 1901, p. 4 & *Irish Times*, 28 January 1901 p. 1.

⁷¹ *Irish Times*, 5 February 1901 p. 5 & *Freeman's Journal*, 4 February 1901, p. 3.

⁷² *Anglo Celt*, 6 February 1901, p. 6. & *Irish Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 5.

prism of local circumstances and consciousness but its underlying validity and importance was uncontested.

The formal proceedings of Victoria's funeral were part of a very similar range of responses to her death across the United Kingdom and the colonial world, most of which came about through a mixture of specific official action at the centre and spontaneous examples of popular sentiment. Civic bodies held special meetings and processions, countless organizations passed resolutions of sympathy, congregations assembled to hear funeral sermons and express solidarity. Crowds spontaneously gathered in public places and the near universal adoption of mourning clothes or emblems of mourning was illustrative of a sense of general participation. Some, no doubt motivated by social pressure, as much as they were by genuine grief. Even far from the metropolitan core in colonial Asia the front page of the *Hong Kong Telegraph* made what was expected patently clear:

In the Gazette Extraordinary announcing the sad news of the death of Her Majesty the Queen, His Excellency the Governor requested the residents of the Colony to wear mourning for a period to be specified in a future Gazette. No particular form of mourning was prescribed, but the officers of the Navy and Army have adopted black armbands on the left arm and we are pleased to see that this mark of respect for the memory of Her Late Majesty has been almost generally followed.⁷³

Presumably this request was not directed at the vast Chinese population of the colony. It also made it very easy to identify those who did not have 'respect' for the Queen and the British values that she stood for in a place like Hong Kong:

⁷³ *Hong Kong Herald*, 25 January 1901, p. 1.

Still, we are sorry to note, that several persons, men only, are to be seen about the streets in coloured neckties and without any outward sign of mourning about them. We hope that these persons are not British subjects. If they are, then more shame to them for an exhibition of the most execrable taste or the most astonishing ignorance of the usages of decent society.⁷⁴

It is obvious from this rebuke that there were at least some, maybe even a number of white residents not following the proper form:

We would remind these people that their want of common decency reflects no credit either upon themselves or their country, and can only tend to debase them in the eyes of foreigners who have themselves shown their sympathy and respect by voluntarily wearing mourning for our late Queen.⁷⁵

Such sentiment, and social pressure, extended from Leeds and Edinburgh, through problematic Dublin, all the way to Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, Australia. The commemorations in Sydney, in 1901 just like their celebrations during the Diamond Jubilee, provide a very useful colonial case study of what was happening to greater or lesser extent elsewhere in Australia and in the rest of the colonial world. The major British cities gave the lead and far flung islands of Britishness, like Sydney, followed:

Saturday last, the date upon which the funeral of the late Queen Victoria took place in England, was observed in Sydney with all the fitting solemnity necessary to mark such a sorrowful and national event. It appealed to all classes, and the response, as might have been expected in a British community, was almost universal. Business was suspended, and but for the fact that the principal thoroughfares of the

⁷⁴ *Hong Kong Herald*, 25 January 1901, p. 1.

⁷⁵ *Hong Kong Herald*, 25 January 1901, p. 1. See also: *The China Mail*, 24 January 1901, p. 3, that advises foreign residents in Hong Kong and Canton about the proper way to dress and behave in mourning the dead Queen.

metropolis were pretty well filled with pedestrians the day might easily have been mistaken for a Sunday.⁷⁶

Just as had happened in Leeds, Edinburgh and Dublin, after news of Victoria's death broke in Sydney, government offices and numerous private establishments were draped in black, or in compliance with the the Queen's wish, purple could also be seen, along with royal emblems.⁷⁷ Men, women and children walked the streets in what the *Sydney Morning Herald* referred to as 'deep mourning,' and just as they did in London many wore purple ribbons intertwined with flowers in their buttonholes, while 'ladies who appeared in public' were usually dressed in pure white, trimmed with black bands, in keeping with the Queen's concept of a white funeral, and possibly also because it was far more practical in an Australian summer.⁷⁸

Quiet and decorum was the theme in Sydney just as it was in Britain, attending church services in the morning or evening (or both if you were particularly devout) was popular, with very good attendances being reported, especially at St. Andrew's Cathedral. So many people turned up for the morning service that hundreds were unable to get in and had to listen from outside. In Sydney, on the same day as Victoria's funeral procession in London the Governor General and Lady Hopetoun, Frederick Darley the Lieutenant Governor, Rear Admiral Beaumont and numerous local officials and dignitaries gave the lead. They attended the cathedral in the morning.⁷⁹ From St. Andrew's service the focus switched, in the afternoon, to the Queen's Golden Jubilee Statue at the top of Macquarie Street. The

⁷⁶ Melbourne was the same: 'Even had the black and purple symbols of mourning been swept from the streets on Saturday, Melbourne would still have been manifestly a city of mourning. Every shop and office was closed.' *Argus*, 4 February 1901, p. 7 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 7.

⁷⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 7 & *Argus*, 4 February 1901, p. 7.

⁷⁸ In Hobart: 'Nearly all of the people bore some evidence of mourning, and officers on parade wore black bands on their arms.' *Mercury*, 4 February 1901, p. 3. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 7.

⁷⁹ In Adelaide's St Peter's Cathedral: 'The Royal Standard and the Union Jack hung in front of the chancel, the ends being caught up with purple bands. Present were his Excellency the Governor and Lady Tennyson, accompanied by Lord Richard Nevill and Colonel Makin...It is estimated that close on 2,000 persons were provided with seats.' *Advertiser*, 4 February 1901, p. 5 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 7.

base of its pedestal was surrounded by palms and the space within the railing was covered by floral tributes. The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported 'earlier mementoes of respect and affection, having become dusty and faded by exposure during the week, had given place to fresh blooms and wreaths.'⁸⁰ A number of flagpoles had been erected in a circle around the pedestal and from them hung silken banners with the flags of different countries that made up the British Empire, each having a black bar printed across its arms. The Royal Standard was at half-mast on top of an obelisk near the statue, the base of which was also draped and painted in mourning colours. By afternoon the square was packed with people, and remained so for the rest of the day.⁸¹

At about midday three companies of the Royal Australian Artillery were drawn up in lines across the square parallel with the eastern end of St. James' Church, between Victoria's statue and another statue of Prince Albert just across the road. On a stage draped with purple and black, the Royal Australian Artillery Band took up their positions. The police moved the large crowd off the roadway, and created a clear space in the square on the city side. About half an hour later, preceded by mounted police and Lancers, the Governor General drove up in an open carriage. He wore 'a black official uniform, his stars, and a green riband.' His wife was dressed in deep mourning.⁸² They were joined by the other members of his family and staff before making their way into the statue's enclosure. The Governor General placed, at the base of the statue, a large wreath of white native flowers without any inscription, while the band played Chopin's 'Funeral March,' opening with the

⁸⁰ In Brisbane too: 'Wreaths and floral devices placed at the foot of the Queen's statue at Parliament House were displayed in an enclosure in front of the building and attracted a huge crowd.' *Courier*, 4 February 1901, p. 6 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 7.

⁸¹ 'There is evidence of large numbers being involved in mourning across the major Australian cities. In Brisbane: 'Every church and hall was devoted to the purpose of religious gatherings to mark the solemn occasion was crowded to the doors. Indeed, in several instances the accommodation was woefully inadequate, and large numbers sought in vain to obtain admission.' *Courier*, 4 February 1901, p. 7 & *Daily Telegraph*, 4 February 1901, p. 6.

⁸² In Perth, instead of a Memorial Concert: 'In the latter part of the afternoon a salute of eighty-one minute guns was fired by the artillery on the Esplanade, the last gun being fired at sunset. A large number of persons were present at the ceremony, and watched the proceedings with evident interest.' *West Australian*, 4 February 1901, p. 5 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 8.

roll of muffled drums. As the 'mournful music' continued, the crowd fell quiet and the bells of St. Mary's Cathedral rang a muffled peal.⁸³

The Federal Premier, Edmund Barton, with Sir William Lyne, the State Premier, arrived before the Governor General had left the enclosure. Together they placed a floral cushion at the foot of the statue. Rear Admiral Lewis Beaumont then came forward, attended by a group of naval officers, as did Major General French, with the members of the Headquarters staff. There then proceeded a procession of wreaths, the first presented by the Major General and his staff inscribed 'In memory of our beloved Queen.' The next, dedicated: 'In loving memory of our deeply lamented Sovereign, Queen Victoria,' from the New South Wales Artillery. 'Mourning the loss of our loved Queen,' stated the United Service Institution wreath. 'In humble tribute to our great Queen,' from the New South Wales 2nd Infantry Regiment. And, after many others carrying messages of similar sentiment, finally the Irish Rifles wreath that was enscribed 'A token of respectful, homage to the greatest and best of Sovereigns.'⁸⁴

The Governor General and his party only remained long enough to exchange courtesies and to admire the display. After their departure the Lieutenant Governor dressed in official uniform, drove up, attended by his staff, also laid a wreath at the foot of the statue and when he had returned to his carriage the military and police were marched away. The band soon packed up and followed, so by 1 p.m. the only officials present were the constables keeping the road clear for traffic and protecting the enclosure around the statue from sightseers and souvenir hunters. During the afternoon their duties became much harder. Thousands of people in a display of spontaneous loyalty came to the square. They went to hear music being played near the statue, to look at the decorations, and in doing so added

⁸³ Similar music was featured at the Memorial Service held in the Anglican Cathedral of Perth: 'The service opened with Beethoven's Funeral March and closed with Chopin's Funeral March. The National Anthem was also sung just before the conclusion of the service.' *West Australian*, 4 February 1901, p. 5 & *The Dawn*, 4 February 1901, p. 8.

⁸⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 8 & *Daily Telegraph*, 4 February 1901, p. 5.

the informal element to already elaborate formal commemorations of the day. According to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'The consequence was that at times there was a great crush, and some minor accidents occurred. On the whole, however, the display passed off as well as might be expected on so exceptional an occasion.'⁸⁵

Floral tributes arrived as the afternoon progressed and were laid at the foot of the statue. The nature of the wreaths and their messages also tells us much about community involvement in Sydney, loyalty, decorum and the expected symbols and phrases that went with Victorian public mourning across the world. Especially interesting is the school participation and the implications of that involvement in understanding the nature of an Australian 'imperial' education in 1901. There was an obelisk in white flowers with a dove on the top from the pupils of the Crown Street Public School; 'Peace, perfect peace,' read the inscription on a cross from the teachers and pupils of Ashfield Superior Public School; 'With deep sympathy and affection,' said a cushion from the Albion Street Public School. 'Peace. For ever with the Lord,' read the tribute from Clifton House School, Redfern; next to it a bunch of white roses from St. Aidan's Day School, Annandale; yet another from the Public School, Homebush, and a large crown inscribed from the teachers and pupils of the Arncliffe Public School.

Along with the flowers there was music. The music programme took up the afternoon and early evening. It was performed by a massed schools choir from: Fort Street, Cleveland Street, Crown Street, Newtown, Paddington, St. Leonards, Leichhardt, and Glebe. In all there were 3000 to 4000 students involved. The music was taken from the patriotic cantata from the schools' concert in March 1900, in aid of the Patriotic Fund. 'These mournful strains served admirably as a setting for new requiem verses written for the occasion.' A

⁸⁵ The headline in the Melbourne *Argus* simply read: 'Immense Congregation,' *Argus*, 4 February 1901, p. 7 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 8.

requiem poem, was contributed by a Mr. Chipin, a teacher at Enmore Public School, beginning with the lines:

Hush ! thro' all the world is borne

Sound of weeping and of woe.⁸⁶

A large platform had been erected days earlier near Victoria's statue, but as the children marched up in their hundreds it soon became clear that it was not big enough. The *Sydney Morning Herald* made special mention of 'The girls of the Cleveland-street school, in their neat dresses of white and black, with Royal purple ribbons, and sailor hats with black bands, thereupon headed the mass of singers who stood in the railed-in space below the platform.' The music programme was opened at about 2.30 p.m., by the Sobraon Boys' Band with the 'Dead March' from 'Saul.' 'The boys, who were in the charge of Mr. H. Mitchell, and were led by Bandmaster Bourke, at first showed hesitancy, but when the full band took up the impressive theme, all went with dignity and weight.' The massed choirs, accompanied by the band, then sang the 'Requiem' hymn, and Mendelssohn's 'Parting'.⁸⁷

There was a delay before the appearance of the Sydney Liedertafel who were due to perform at 4 p.m. The band of the Royal Australian Artillery returned during this break and played Chopin's 'Funeral March,' the 'Spring-grove Dirge,' 'the Angels' Choir,' and a 'somewhat animated composition by an unnamed American composer,' which is the only evidence of any significant departure anywhere from the conventional music repertoire

⁸⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 8. & *The Dawn*, 4 February 1901, p. 3.

⁸⁷ In Cape Colony and Natal, it was reported in Australian papers: 'Saturday, was observed as a solemn fast day, out of respect to Queen Victoria's memory, and the statues of Her Majesty; at Cape Town, Durban, and Pieter Maritzburg were covered with beautiful floral wreaths. A remarkable and moving scene was enacted at Durban. About 5,000 Indians gathered near the foot of the statue in token of their loving regret, and addresses in eulogy of the late sovereign were delivered in six Hindoo dialects.' *South Australian Register*, 5 February 1901, p. 4 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 8.

shaped by Victoria's own tastes. The memorial concert, however, quickly returned to convention finishing with the hymn, 'Days and Moments Quickly Flying'.⁸⁸

The most anticipated performance of the afternoon was that of the 'Sydney Liedertafel.' They sang 'Ev'ry Rustling Tree,' 'Wait awhile, Wait awhile,' 'Soon shalt thou, too, be at rest,' and concluded their section with 'O Sanctissima.' The proceedings finished with 'The Long Day Closes' being played by the choir of the Sydney Philharmonic Society. At 5 p.m. Sir William Manning, President of the Society laid at the base of the monument a floral harp of fragrant flowers, inscribed 'Music is Earth's Prelude to Eternal Song'.⁸⁹ Then at about 6 p.m. the 'Royal Arthur', along with other war vessels anchored in the harbour and the Dawes Point Battery, commenced firing minute guns, and 'as the sun descended below the horizon, the booming of the eighty-first gun reverberated along the foreshores of the harbour and echoed among the hills, announcing to the mourning city that the last sad rite had been concluded'.⁹⁰

According to newspaper reports there were very similar ceremonies held around Tasmania, Victoria, Queensland and South Australia. Church services, sermons, officials in uniforms, public speeches, public wreath laying, sombre band music and sombre choir music were to varying degrees part of the commemorations in every one of the newly federated states of Australia and in New Zealand. (Figure 26.) Motivations for involvement in these types of public mourning for the Queen, as we have already seen, were mixed: statutory, media and voluntary bodies took the opportunity to assert their status; social conventions and a sense of 'respectability' influenced individuals. Nevertheless the breadth and depth of public feeling defies any simple explanation of coercion and it is still more than likely that very

⁸⁸ *Daily Telegraph*, 4 February 1901, p. 6 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 9.

⁸⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 9 & *The Dawn*, 4 February 1901, p. 3.

⁹⁰ The mourning, however, would not stop there. In Tasmania, for instance: 'His Excellency the Administrator has intimated that subjects of his Majesty will not be expected to wear deep mourning in connection with the death of her late Majesty Queen Victoria after March 5, nor half-mourning after April 17 next.' *Examiner*, 4 February 1901, p. 5 & *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1901, p. 9.

large numbers of people were deeply moved by a sense of loss and felt the need to express that sentiment in visible and collective ways. The official and unofficial agents of the state did not show any indication in 1901 of an ability to stimulate any public sentiment that did not already exist. There is no evidence of explicit dissent and there is no evidence that this was the result of any direct government pressure. There were, no doubt, opponents of the extravagance of the public mourning. However, they kept their views to themselves in 1901, probably afraid to appear not merely factional but indecent in their lack of reverence for the dead Queen. The overwhelming sense of awe inspired by Victoria's death dictated the boundaries of social and cultural consensus. Any differences over modes of commemoration that might have been aired on a more joyful occasion were suppressed in an atmosphere of grief and mourning where dissent was unthinkable, possibly even dangerous.



Figure 26. 'A ceremony at the statue of Queen Victoria.' Geelong, Victoria, 1901, There are wreaths on the statue and Suttons Proprietary Limited is in the background. From the collection of Mrs E. Bray, The Biggest Family Album of Australia, Museum Victoria.

There was also another force for consensus in action in January 1901. Linda Colley, in her analysis of the development of British national identity, demonstrates the considerable extent to which Britishness was invented and superimposed on an enduring structure of English, Scottish, Welsh, regional and local divides. A sense of common Protestantism, a Protestantism in its broadest sense and encompassing far more than simply the state church, lay at the core of this process. Further stimulus came from an awareness of common economic interest, a shared involvement in imperial expansion and the appeal of the monarchy as a symbol of collective identity.⁹¹ Even the broadened theme of Protestantism was still a persistent point of focus.⁹² The response to Queen Victoria's death was a significant part of this overall process. Her funeral and commemorations did not merely reflect this wider trend; they also contributed to its further development. The impact of her death was a major factor in the resurgence of the monarchy as the pre-eminent focus for British national identity, through the cultivation of sympathy for the survivors, particularly her successor Edward VII and the expression of solidarity linked to idealized images of domesticity and public service. Victoria's own insistence on making mourning a way of life after the death of Prince Albert certainly irritated many people in the short term but paradoxically its net effect in the long term seems to have been an enhanced sense of affinity with Victoria.⁹³ The inclusive nature of mourning Victoria was very much apparent across towns and cities in England, Scotland and Wales, even for a short while in Ireland and as we have seen even far flung places like Sydney enthusiastically joined in. The widespread religious, largely Protestant, components of public observance imbued it with additional legitimacy in the eyes of a population that was by now only

⁹¹ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2nd edit. 2005, pp. 204-216.

⁹² *Christian World*, 25 January 1901, p. 1. All through January and February 1901 this newspaper placed a lot of emphasis on Victoria's place at the head of the Church of England and her place in Protestant tradition. See also: L. Colley, *Britons*, 2005, pp. 11-43.

⁹³ J. Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, pp. 179-181.

residually Christian.⁹⁴ The linkages between Protestantism, royalty and national consciousness were reinforced.

The intense popular sentiment over Queen Victoria's death only lasted for a few weeks but its impact was more enduring. There is much anecdotal evidence of the long-term persistence of memories of such great events. For some, such as Lord Redesdale who described in his autobiography his reaction to the Queen's death, it was a landmark against which to measure the passage of time.⁹⁵ Violet Asquith, thirteen years old when Victoria died, remembered holding tightly on to her nurse's hand as they battled through the crowds in a draper's shop in central London to buy mourning clothes: 'From the hushed house we were sent into the hushed streets where everyone, even the poorest, seemed to be already dressed in black.'⁹⁶ The day after Victoria's death was a Wednesday but to Violet it seemed more like a Sunday. Only the shops selling black clothes were full.⁹⁷ Memories of Victoria's death and funeral from early childhood were likely to be shaped by adults, but such mediation in itself served to ensure that they had an enduring place in the child's consciousness. One adult writing for the *Yorkshire Post* was greatly concerned that the younger generation should participate actively in the national mourning of Victoria, to provide them with 'abiding memories' of a 'great and significant event.'⁹⁸ This was an exceptional event that impacted on the routine of many people's daily lives and implanted itself in the collective British and imperial experience of 1901. The extent of the legacy of personal and shared memory in the consciousness of individuals and society is too easily neglected. In one sense the aftermath of Queen Victoria's life concluded when her body was lowered into the crypt of Frogmore in the January twilight of 1901 but in another

⁹⁴ E. Schor, *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994, pp. 61-64.

⁹⁵ Redesdale, Lord, *Memories*, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1915, pp. 127-31.

⁹⁶ V. Bonham-Carter, *Winston Churchill as I Knew Him*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1995, p. 47.

⁹⁷ *Telegraph*, 24 January 1901, p. 2. See also: V. Bonham-Carter, *Winston Churchill*, 1995, p. 47.

⁹⁸ *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 4 February 1901, p. 4 & *Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*, 4 February 1901, p. 6.

sense it has lasted into the twenty first century. Her death seemed to break a link with the age to which she had given her name, the subsequent recollection of it would give individuals a sense of their own location in history. For a short while, a feeling of shared grief and mourning fostered at least the illusion and possibly the reality of social and cultural cohesion across the United Kingdom and the British Empire.

8. Mother Farewell!

The way in which Victoria was exalted in death is indicative of the extreme level of popularity she achieved during her lifetime, especially in the last years of her reign from June 1897 to January 1901. Her celebrity was based on a set of beliefs that people held about her and she was remembered as an intimate, if fictive, familiar in peoples' lives. Her domestic virtues and 'womanly' sympathy were imagined as an extraordinary influence for good and writers described her as a positive and continuing spiritual presence even after her death. This belief in the Queen, as the good mother, as a very old woman who linked them with a glorious past and as an unchanging presence when everything else was changing at such a rapid rate around them goes some way to explain the public perception of her passing as such a major event in people's lives.

Samuel Hynes has found in his analysis of approximately 3000 British and colonial elegies printed in the wake of the Queen's death in 1901 that: 'Her maternal role is so repeatedly mentioned as to suggest it was a commonplace of her reign...not an extravagant figure of speech but as an accepted truth.'¹ One poet even declared that her death rendered her subjects 'orphans...motherless!'² The Sunday School Union published a 'Memorial Card of The Great Queen Mother' for children which began with the line: 'Mother and Queen, farewell!'³ Similarly, a vicar published his sermon under the title 'Our Mother-Queen,' while a rabbi named her the 'the most womanly of women...the ideal mother of her people.'⁴

¹ S. Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1968, p. 15.

² R.C. Fillingham, 'Our Bereavement' in J.G. Hammerton (ed.), *The Passing of Victoria: The Poets Tribute*, Horace Marshall & Son, London, 1901, pp. 80-81.

³ 'The Children's Memorial Card of The Great Queen Mother - In Everloving Memory: Victoria, Queen and Empress,' Sunday School Union, London, 1901, BL:1901.a.1.(94*).

⁴ P.X. Eldridge, *Our Mother-Queen: A Sermon preached... on the occasion of the death of... Queen Victoria*, Vacher & Sons, London, 1901; J.F. Stern, *The Queen: A Sermon, Delivered 2 February 1901 East London Synagogue*, Privately published, London, 1901, BL: 10806.dd.8.(2).

The public perception of the maternal nature of the Queen was a crucial part of her charisma and had been built up over the years of her reign through the publication of numerous photographs and sketches of her in domestic settings with her own children, then her grandchildren and finally her great-grandchildren. This trope, of the Queen as mother, was the bedrock of her image by 1901. To try to understand its development, near universal acceptance and ultimate significance in the public reaction to Victoria's passing, it is enlightening to firstly look at the effect of the image and the reality on two of her contemporaries, the writer Marie Corelli and the Princess Louise.

As with all movements, the rise of feminism at the end of the nineteenth century also brought forward groups that opposed feminist values. Just as there were women objecting to what they saw as the traditional female role there were others like Marie Corelli who championed conservative values.⁵ Corelli spoke and wrote, at length, about how the values of the 'New Woman' did not measure up to ideals of British womanhood. She saw such women as rude, self-absorbed, unnatural and anti-family. They were a regressive step in history rather than a progressive one and their anti-social ways were degrading to the dignity of other women everywhere.⁶

Marie Corelli was one of the most commercially successful novelists of the Victorian era. Her books were sold in enormous numbers both in Britain and overseas and to the delight of the Victorian reading public her own life seemed to mirror in its righteousness exactly what she wrote.⁷ She was a major force in the construction of Victorian ideas about the ideal woman, pure of heart and gracious in every way but also smart and more than able to

⁵ M. Fawcett, *What I Remember*, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1925; A. Kenney, *Memories of a Militant*, Edward Arnold, London, 1924 & C. Hamilton, *Life Errant*, Dent, London, 1935.

⁶ J. Bush, *Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-suffragism in Britain*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007, pp. 47-74 & M. Corelli, 'The Decay of Home Life in England,' *Free Opinions*, Archibald Constable, London, 1905, pp. 207-230.

⁷ B. Masters, *Now Barabbas Was a Rotter: The Extraordinary Life of Marie Corelli*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1978, p. 27.

deal with whatever life could throw at her. Corelli adored Queen Victoria as 'an incarnation of womanhood at its best.'⁸ While the Queen's love of Corelli's work helped to guarantee its popularity.⁹

Victoria was emulated by many of her middle-class female subjects. Most were also members of the reading public and they came to perceive a parallel between the kind of fictional woman Corelli constructed and the kind of womanhood they revered in Victoria. Brian Masters notes, 'It is when the reading public realised that Marie was in some way the literary counterpart of their own dear Queen, and sought in her work to protect the same cherished values, that she was elevated in the popular mind to the position of an evangelist, a doer of good, a proclaimer of truth, a protector of virtue.'¹⁰ She developed a link between her theories of womanhood and motherhood and the life of the Queen in two short commemorative works, *The Greatest Queen in the World 1837-1900*, and *The Passing of the Great Queen*.¹¹

Corelli's characterisation of female power rested on a Queen who somehow effected foreign policy by staying home and burying herself in the nursery. An unlikely model on the surface but Victoria's purity, originating in her home, somehow radiated out to give her semi-divine powers outside of the home. Corelli contended that 'while men, with heavy logic and contentious disputes, wearily argued pros and cons of various deep questions, the Queen bringing her quick brain to bear on the subject in hand, easily sprang to a straight issue, and by a word here, a gentle suggestion there, skillfully guided slower perceptions

⁸ M. Corelli, *The Passing of the Great Queen: A Tribute to the Noble Life of Victoria Regina*, Methuen & Co., London, 1901, p. 3.

⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 27 April 1895, p. 2 & *Northern Echo*, 23 September 1896, p. 4.

¹⁰ B. Masters, *Now Barabbas Was a Rotter: The Extraordinary Life of Marie Corelli*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1978, p. 107.

¹¹ M. Corelli, *The Greatest Queen in the World, 1837-1900: A Tribute to the Majesty of England*, Skeffington & Son, London, 1900 & M. Corelli, *The Passing of the Great Queen: A Tribute to the Noble Life of Victoria Regina*, Methuen & Co., London, 1901.

and duller wits out of darkness into light.¹² In her book *The Greatest Queen in the World*, Corelli capitalises possessive pronouns that refer to the Queen, as when she claims, 'It is well-nigh impossible to imagine a more magnificent empire than our own, over which this noblest, purest, and best of women holds Her dominion.'¹³ Capitalising the possessive pronoun when discussing the Queen is not normal usage, but it is, of course, the standard format for references to God. Similarly, Corelli's concluding sentence describes Victoria as 'the one Mother whose love has never failed us, and never will fail;—our own Victoria,—the Greatest Queen in the World!'¹⁴

For Corelli and her supporters Victoria's empire was superior to all others because an admirable woman was at its pinnacle. It was the love and feminine care that flowed down from the top that made this empire quite different to those in the past that had been ruled by masculine violence. Victoria was living proof that female values had been transferred to a larger stage and that the British Empire was, under a motherly Queen, a happy family of nations and colonies. It was an attitude encouraged by imperialists, because it conveniently justified the need for an empire so that 'others' too could gain the benefit of the motherly love.¹⁵ This was all far more noble than simply possessing an empire for what you could get out of it.

Corelli drew still further on these iconic manifestations. Known in her later years as both the 'Mother of the British Empire' and the 'Grandmother of Europe,' Victoria's motherhood and grand-motherhood elevated her gravitas. It was celebrated through numerous, overflowing, family portraits that illustrated for all to see her bounteous

¹² M. Corelli, *The Passing of the Great Queen: A Tribute to the Noble Life of Victoria Regina*, Methuen & Co., London, 1901, p. 15.

¹³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 March 1900, p.7 & M. Corelli, *The Passing of the Great Queen: A Tribute to the Noble Life of Victoria Regina*, Methuen & Co., London, 1901, p.15.

¹⁴ *Western Times*, 28 March 1899, p. 8 & M. Corelli, *The Passing of the Great Queen: A Tribute to the Noble Life of Victoria Regina*, Methuen & Co., London, 1901, p.37.

¹⁵ J.M. Mackenzie, 'Empire and the Global Gaze,' in J.M. Mackenzie (ed.), *The Victorian Vision*, V&A Publications, London, 2001, pp. 241-246.

procreativity.¹⁶ (Figure 27) Just being a mother was probably enough to associate Victoria with virtuous qualities but she was constructed in the press as a mother's mother, a domestic goddess, almost saintly in her generosity, compassion, gentleness and selflessness. All of these qualities were attributed to her, largely on the strength of her maternity and reinforced by writers and commentators like Corelli when she claims that 'Her instincts are all those of sympathy, gentleness, and love.'¹⁷



Figure 27.
'Queen Victoria
and Margaret,
Crown Princess
of Sweden,
Alexander
Bassano half-
plate glass
negative, April
1882, UK
National
Portrait Gallery.

¹⁶ J. Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003, pp. 1-12.

¹⁷ *The Times*, 25 January 1901, p.6, *London Standard*, 18 April 1900, p. 3 & *Morning Post*, 30 March 1900, p. 5. See also: & M. Corelli, *The Greatest Queen in the World, 1837-1900: A Tribute to the Majesty of England*, Skeffington & Son, London, 1900, p. 18.

The reality of Victoria did not matter in this constructed world of the ideal mother. It did not matter, for instance, that contrary to the common construction of a mother, Victoria had threads of iron running through her personality; was far from self-abnegating, insisted on her political and social dues, and refused to even allow some of her infirm ministers to sit in her presence.¹⁸ While she could be forbearing, she was on the whole a forthright, blunt, and critical personality, who lamented the ugliness of some of her children and refused to issue a statement of regret upon the 1897 death of William Gladstone.¹⁹ Her particular brand of intelligence, too, was not the mild, intuitive intelligence popularly associated with mothers at the time but the shrewd, informed knowledge of human nature that comes with compendious experience. Even her attitudes towards motherhood and infants confound stereotypes; far from exalting maternity, this abundantly fecund woman called pregnancy 'a bad arrangement,' and admitted that she did not care for infants 'till they have become a little human; an ugly baby is a very nasty object.'²⁰ She also observed that, while small, all babies had 'their big body and little limbs and that terrible frog-like action.'²¹ There were no hints of this private Victoria published until well after her death, which is quite remarkable considering the way the London press searched for and freely published such negative details about other Victorian celebrities.²²

The public Victoria, however, was thought to be an open book. Her persona was firmly rooted in a unique combination of traditional motherhood and monarchy. This was a

¹⁸ C. Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, Harper Collins, London, 2000, p. 365.

¹⁹ However, she did much later send a public telegram of condolence to Mrs Gladstone possibly in response to negative reaction to her slight. See also: *Graphic*, 4 June 1898, p. 6 & *Morning Post*, 31 May 1898, p. 5. See also: C. Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, Harper Collins, London, 2000, p. 221.

²⁰ 'Victoria to Vicky' 12 May 1859, in: R. Fulford (ed.), *Victoria Queen, and Empress Frederick of Prussia, Dearest Child: Letters between Queen Victoria and the Princess Royal, 1858-1861*, Evans Brothers Limited, London, 1964, pp. 165 & 191.

²¹ 'Victoria to Vicky' 1 July 1861, in: R. Fulford (ed.), *Victoria, Queen, and Empress Frederick of Prussia, Dearest Child*, 1964, p. 191.

²² M. Diamond, *Victorian Sensation: Or the Spectacular, the Shocking and the Scandalous in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Anthem Press, London, 2004, pp. 1-6.

position that none of her historical royal predecessors had been able to assume: Elizabeth I had been an unmarried 'Virgin Queen,' and Mary I, Mary II and Queen Anne all had fertility problems that prevented them from producing heirs and taking on the motherly mantle of state. Victoria was very different and may even have helped stimulate, a cultural shift towards the celebration of women's intrinsic capacity as mothers and domestic managers.²³ The absence of Albert in her later family photographs does not alter the fact that they are still celebrations of Victoria's fecundity. Her fertility is firmly on display as she appears alone in the centre of her progeny. As noted, Albert is also present in spirit, included in nearly all official royal portraits, as a bust, or in the Queen's mourning jewellery, but the overall effect, nonetheless, is to strengthen Victorian ideas of powerful motherhood.

Prince Albert's death changed the nature of Victoria's relationship with her peoples. Victoria the widow meant different things to different people. Her emotional response to events even gained the sympathy of women like George Eliot who were otherwise out of tune with her conservative position. In 1848 Eliot had written in a private letter of 'our little humbug of a queen,' but by 1879 Victoria had been transformed in the writer's eyes to another recipient as 'the sharer of every woman's grief.'²⁴ Widowhood was a state viewed with distrust when Victoria lost her husband. As Pat Jalland has argued, widows combined sexual knowledge and often greater economic power than single or married women. Without a husband or male guardian, they had no restraints on their actions and a much clearer knowledge of their desires. Widows, more in the imagination than in reality of course, could be creatures whose monstrous desires might disrupt the fabric of society.²⁵ If widows had dangerous desires then those of royal widows must be exponentially more

²³ A. Munich 'Queen Victoria, Empire, and Excess,' Vol. 6, No. 2, *Woman and Nation, Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Autumn, 1987, pp. 265-281.

²⁴ G.S. Haight (ed.), G. Eliot, *Selections from George Eliot's Letters*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1985, pp. 65 & 121.

²⁵ P. Jalland, *Death and the Victorian Family*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, pp. 230-250.

dangerous and unpredictable. What would be the fate of an empire under such erratic rule.²⁶ The answer provided by her supporters was that her excessive grief was evidence enough that all desires, both natural and unnatural, had gone with Albert to the next world.

The idea of mother Victoria successfully negotiated this initial hurdle and had become commonplace by the last decade or so of her reign but the great frequency with which it was used after her death suggests much about how Victoria was remembered and mourned. The tender phrases used to describe the Queen reflected the widespread belief in her 'goodness'. The image of her which had been constructed in the last fifteen years of her life, as a perfect woman, motherly Queen and comforter to all her subjects, was further enshrined after her death in poetry, editorials, sermons, and biographies. Typically she was, in the words of the novelist Ella Hepworth Dixon, the 'Mother of mothers, Queen of Queens'; whereas for the poet John Trew-Hay her greatness lay in the fact that she was 'The pattern woman of the human race.'²⁷ Diana Mulock Craik, who generally wrote popular novels but felt it necessary at the time of Queen Victoria's death to turn her hand to poetry, summarised the tone of much of this literary outpouring in 'A Dedicatory Verse' published in W.T. Stead's Diamond Jubilee book *Our Mother-Queen, The Story of the Longest Reign*:

Womanliest Woman! queenliest Queen

Thy country's Mother, as it sees

Three generations round Thy knees.

And all that was and might have been.

O generous Heart, that, bleeding, fed

²⁶ D. Bredezen, 'The 'Widdy's' Empire: Queen Victoria as Widow in Kipling's Soldiers Stories and in the Barrack-Room Ballads' in M. Homans and A. Munich (Bds.), *Remaking Victoria*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 227-229.

²⁷ E. H. Dixon, 'La Reyene Est Morte,' *The Times*, 23 January 1901, p. 9 & J. Trew-Hay, 'Vale Regina!' *Sportsman*, 23 January 1901, p. 4.

Her people 'neath her sheltering wings,
Taught pity for all suffering things
Out of the very breast that bled.²⁸

Only a very few critics publicly discounted this hyperbolic praise which bore such a tenuous relationship to reality: *Reynolds's News*, for example, described these accounts as the 'most revolting nonsense.' The editorial stance, however, was less likely to have been based on any insider knowledge of the private Victoria, than a matter of principle. For *Reynolds's News* Queen Victoria was the monarch of an aggressive imperialist nation, fighting a dirty, oppressive war in South Africa. This was not a model for other women to follow.²⁹

Nonetheless, the title of mother and friend seemed to sum up the place Victoria had occupied in many people's lives, as someone whom they knew and who they believed cared about them. By calling the Queen 'mother' writers like Dixon, Trew-Hay, and Craik also implied something about the nation: it was united as a family in its sorrow. The frequency with which Victoria was called mother reflects what was developing as a national obsession with motherhood and was even included as part of the discussion as Britain searched for the sources of its inadequacies in the South African War.³⁰

Someone who could, literally, call Victoria mother was Princess Louise. The Queen's sixth child was then considered somewhat unconventional.³¹ In some respects circumstance was her friend, she did not have the same pressure to marry and reproduce as her older sisters and a bout of meningitis as a child convinced her mother that she would never be up to

²⁸ D.Craik, 'A Dedicatory Verse,' in W.T. Stead, *Our Mother-Queen, The Story of the Longest Reign*, Lucile Ltd., London, 1897, p. 16.

²⁹ *Reynolds's News*, 27 January 1901, p. 1.

³⁰ P. Warwick, *The South African War: the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*, Longman, Harlow, 1980, pp. 87-9.

³¹ R.M. Stamp, *Royal Rebels: Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne*, Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1988, p. 289.

royal administrative work.³² It also helped that Louise was labeled as artistically brilliant in her later teens. So when she travelled in bohemian circles and had feminist friends it did not strike anyone as unusual.

Louise's talent challenged the gender norms of her time. Her greatest aptitude was for sculpture, an art form perceived as inappropriate for women because of the unsavoury backgrounds of many of the live models employed during training and the indelicate almost industrial nature of the process of production.³³ The scale of sculpture and the amount of space and time and material required to work in that medium, implied a greater degree of professionalism and commitment than, for example, watercolors, which were universally considered a becoming art form for a young lady.

Louise was committed to her art and sought out tutors who could help her reach a professional standard. Surprisingly, considering her mother's conservative views in so many other areas, this was done with Victoria's blessing, even encouragement.³⁴ As Louise reached adulthood and her talent began to really show, Victoria allowed her to attend Kensington's National Art Training School which trained and certified students as art teachers. This decision not only commented on the dominant role that Louise was determined for art to play in her priorities, it was also the first time that a royal, and a woman at that, was educated for anything in a public institution. Although Louise's royal duties took primacy over attendance, the school was an entrée for the Princess into artistic circles. She sat next to and befriended woman sculptor Henrietta Montalba and later socialized with a number of important individuals in the world of the arts, including Frederic Leighton, John Millais, Arthur Sullivan, James Whistler, Gertrude Jekyll, Edwin Luytens, and Feodora Gleichen, her non-royal cousin and fellow sculptor. The *Pall Mall*

³² J. Wake, *Princess Louise: Queen Victoria's Unconventional Daughter*, Collins, London, 1988, p. 50.

³³ *London Standard*, 24 June 1893, p. 7 & *Western Times*, 13 December 1890, p. 2. See also: J. Wake, *Princess Louise*, 1988, p. 52.

³⁴ *English Woman's Review*, 15 October 1897, pp. 209-217 & *Edinburgh Evening News*, 1 December 1897, p. 4.

Gazette reported that she was considered 'delightful' by the sculptor Sir Joseph Boehm, and they were 'quite close.' They also reported that she was 'strongly in favour of female students using life models,' as their male counterparts did. The *English Woman's Review* declared her 'competent at water colours, excellent at oils, and brilliant at sculpture,' and 'quite bohemian' for preferring 'light coloured clothes', and 'wearing her hair down.'³⁵

Louise even exposed her royal person to formal critique by submitting works to the Royal Academy and the Grosvenor Gallery, among others. Her most famous and visible work and the one that we need to look at in detail is her Jubilee monument (1893) to her mother at Kensington Palace. Louise grew up painting and sketching her mother and other family members. It was her bust of her mother that convinced the Queen to allow Louise to attend the National Art Training School, so Louise was accustomed to portraying her mother, as both a personal and as a national figure. Her own life would have taught her to draw the distinction between the public and private face of royalty and the degree of control exerted over public images, in other words, the constructedness of her mother's image would have been familiar. Consequently, she seems to have been well-prepared to produce an image of her mother that depicted Victoria not as Louise knew her at home but rather as a national icon, drawn from images from the Queen's early reign. At the same time, I think that Louise reinterpreted those early images in light of her own knowledge of her mother and her conception of the way to represent a sovereign.

Princess Louise's Jubilee statue is an appropriation of a much earlier painting of Victoria's coronation. The similarity of the pose is obvious: both hold a sceptre in the same odd and unrealistic way at the same angle and in the same hand; both have turned their faces to the right; both rest one foot on a pillow; both wear similar clothes and both rest their left hand on the armrest. Nevertheless the two works are very different in what they finally achieve. The earlier painting depicted Victoria as young, naive, inexperienced, and eager. Her grasp

³⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 July 1897, pp. 11-12 & *English Woman's Review*, 15 October 1897, p. 214.

of the sceptre is much more tentative than that of Louise's Victoria: her index finger is daintily lifted, not even touching the scepter. Tellingly, her lips are very slightly parted, suggesting youthfulness, innocence, guilelessness and a desire to please. Her eyes look up and to her right as if something had just captured her attention; her head is drawn slightly back, making her look a little shy or uncertain. The pillow that cushions Victoria's feet is much larger than in the statue, so that even her left foot, though withdrawn, must be resting upon it. Overall, she looks more childish, more energetic, but at the same time less effective than Louise's Victoria. (Figure 28.)

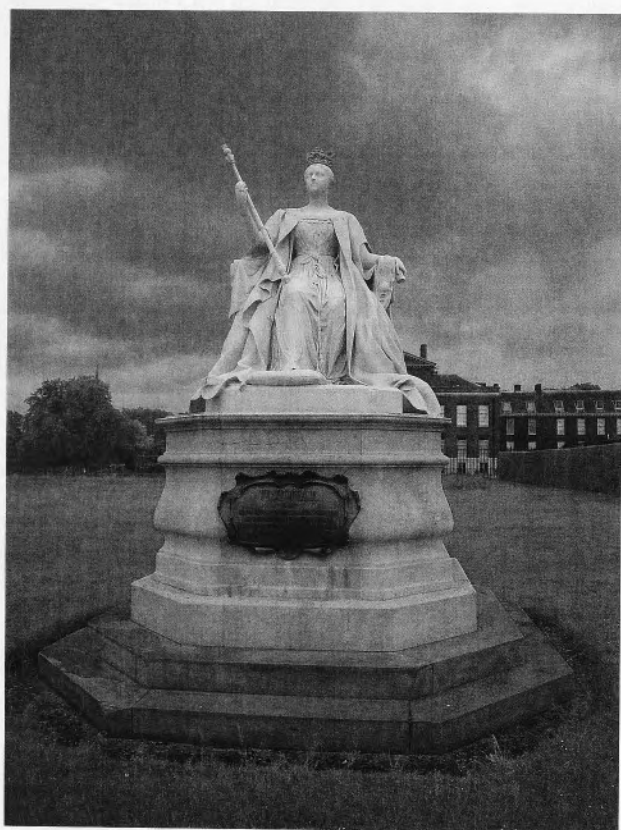


Figure 28. 'Queen Victoria' A marble statue that faces the Grand Vista of Kensington Gardens shows the Queen in 1837, aged 18, in her coronation robes, Princess Louise, 1893. Authors own photograph.

The Jubilee statue is more monumental in its appearance: smooth, large, immobile, powerful. Since the statue has no pupils, it appears to be staring forward, not glancing to the side. Victoria's head is at a normal angle (not drawn back), and her mouth is closed,

making her look more adult and resolute. One foot rests on the ground behind a much smaller pillow, connecting the Queen to the earth and hinting at the possibility that she can arise from her throne and take action at any time; the coronation Victoria, on the other hand, is barricaded by her pillow. Victoria's stone robes too, though full and magisterial, are much simpler than in the painting, with fewer decorative embellishments and no pattern incised in the stone. Whereas in the painting the lines of the flowing robes are broken up by fringe, tassels, lace, and contrasting fabrics, the statue's lines are much smoother and more vertical. This more austere outline gives the work a more mature and powerful feeling, as well as a less decadent one and much more suitable for a monarchy that has tried for 50 years to compensate for the bad behavior of its Hanoverian predecessors.

During her reign, Victoria had illustrated how political power might be tempered by femininity. She was perceived as a firm and decisive monarch and as she aged, she was also seen as a more serious one, someone who had faced numerous personal tragedies. These qualities are evident in Louise's depiction of her mother. Rather than choosing to represent the relatively lighthearted and very inexperienced girl that Victoria was in 1838, Louise opted for a more symbolic depiction: Victoria at her coronation, prefiguring the reign to come with all of its successes and power. This choice probably had several motivations but it is a consistent gesture from a woman who knew the real Victoria to portray her as she saw her as strong and empowered. As we shall see in the next part of this thesis, Louise's sculpture was one among many renditions of the Queen in bronze and stone.

Perhaps the most obvious characteristic of the use of the term mother in the context of Queen Victoria is its very intimate nature. It evokes a relationship far closer than that between Queen and subject. By calling Victoria 'mother,' writers at the time were characterising her death as a significant, personal loss. It was commonplace to claim, as did one minister, that 'Our mourning is as the mourning for a mother.'³⁶ In turn-of-the-

³⁶ J. Hammond, *A Queen Indeed!* Skeffington, London, 1901, p. 8.

century Britain the word did not simply define a biological relationship, it evoked a whole set of associations with nurturing, home, innocence, and love.³⁷ The term friend, also used to describe Victoria, conveyed a similar personal intimacy. In Sheffield, for example, the papers called Victoria a 'sovereign friend,' and said that her death was met with a 'direct personal sorrow which is at once a common and an individual grief.'³⁸ Similarly, a poem in the *Daily Mail* described Victoria as 'Her who loved Her Peoples, who Her Peoples knew, As Queen and Friend and Mother - and adored.'³⁹

Such strikingly personal nomenclature for the monarch reflects the nature of Victoria's position in British culture. Fritz Ponsonby, for one, was keenly aware of the paradox that although in many ways she was actually a remote monarch, rarely appearing in public, many people felt that they knew her intimately.⁴⁰ As has already been established, through popular biography, poetry, her published journals, drawings, souvenirs, and photographs, the Queen had become an extremely familiar figure to many. Typically, these accounts were filled with anecdotes about her childhood, romance, and home life, so that readers felt they knew her dislikes and likes, sorrows and joys. Many were gathered together in memorial publications in 1901 and two anecdotes in particular, published in the *Topical Times*, illustrate this intimacy:

³⁷ E. Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993; S. Thurer, *Myths of Motherhood: How Culture Reinvents the Good Mother*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1994, pp. 181-7.

³⁸ *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 26 January 1901, p.1 & *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 27 January 1901, p. 3.

³⁹ *Daily Mail*, 22 January 1901, p. 7. The *Daily Mail* also referred to Victoria as 'a beloved friend' on 21 January 1901, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Ponsonby discusses this problem in some detail in his memoirs, see: F. Ponsonby, *Recollections of Three Reigns*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1951, pp. 95-98.

The Queen dressed in simple taste, and the tale lives that an equerry, meeting her out for a stroll once, approached with the warning: "Now, madam, you should not be here. Nobody is allowed within the grounds when the Queen is in residence."⁴¹

This first one has a voyeuristic quality to it, we a privy to a scene that well illustrates Victoria's lack of pomp and show, an ordinary person in an extraordinary position. The second regards an incident that is also the subject of an illustration in the *Illustrated London News*, whereby Victoria unexpectedly visited an old and ill cottager at Balmoral. All his family were, ironically, away trying to catch a glimpse of the Queen:⁴²

Her majesty talked to the old man for a time, and read him a chapter from the Bible. On leaving, she handed him a five-pound note, saying: "When your people come back, tell them that while they have been to see the Queen, the Queen has been to see you."⁴³

Another example of this myth making comes from the *Sydney Morning Herald*:

'A tourist went into an old churchyard there in 1833 to find the grave of the heroine of a religious story which had much vogue in those days. There, seated beside a greasy mound, he came upon a lady and a child, the latter reading aloud in a full melodious voice the touching tale of the Christian maiden. The tourist turned away, and soon afterwards was told by the sexton that the pilgrims to that humble grave were the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria.'⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Topical Times*, 26 January 1901, p. 6. Some newspapers even made something out of nothing: 'THOUGHTFULNESS OF THE QUEEN.' London, Jan. 23. The Queen always hoped that she would not die in her sleep, lest at her passing away she should not be surrounded by her loved ones. A few days ago her Majesty thoughtfully told her attendants to go for a walk and take air.' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 1901, p. 7.

⁴² *Illustrated London News*, 9 February 1901, p. 199.

⁴³ *Illustrated London News*, 9 February 1901, p. 199.

⁴⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 1901, p. 7.

Even critics of the Queen perceived a personal bond between Victoria and her subjects. In the aftermath of Victoria's death some writers abstained from the rush to praise her and instead attempted to explain her overwhelming popularity. Such observers typically traced public sentiment to the imagined personal bond between Queen and subject. After commenting in negative terms about Victoria's personal appearance and dowdy dress sense, a writer in the *Quarterly Review*, for example, saw instead 'her intense womanliness and loving tenderness' as the source of her popularity. The Diamond Jubilee, he continued, had been important because 'It was as though the Queen spoke to her subjects face to face.'⁴⁵ However, if she spoke to the editor of *Reynolds's News* the message did not reach him in quite the same way. Victoria was described in a January 1897 issue of the newspaper as 'a semi-senile old woman of over seventy, podgy-figured, sulky-faced, flabby, fat, and flatulent,' and in another in June 1897 as 'being selfish herself, gave a kind of official sanction to selfishness' and went on to describe the Queen as 'dull.'⁴⁶ Such barbs were, however, only for a decided minority.

In naming Victoria 'mother,' journalists, ministers, and poets did more than express grief; they also delineated a mythic vision of Britain and the empire as a unified family. The social distance between subject and monarch and between different classes was dissolved in a portrait of a nation unified and like a family in its sorrow. The belief that the Queen loved and was loved by her subjects of all classes, was central to this image. At the Diamond Jubilee, the press portrayed the poorest subjects as loyally cheering.⁴⁷ Biographers had long minimised the class distance between the monarch and the people by portraying her

⁴⁵ *Quarterly Review*, April 1901, p.310. Even in South Australia this image carried through: 'At Balmoral - the Queen appeared, not in her regal character, but as the mother; while the Prince, as head of the family, was looked up to and loved with the tenderest emotion.' *South Australian Register*, 24 January 1901, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Reynolds's News*, 17 January 1897, p. 5 & *Reynolds's News*, 20 June 1897, p. 1.

⁴⁷ All the major London dailies mentioned the universality of the adulation and this was picked up and repeated by the provincial and colonial press who took the London coverage almost verbatim. For example see: *The Times*, 20 June 1897, p. 4; *Daily Mail*, 23 June 1897, p. 2 & *Indian Spectator*, 26 June 1897, p. 11.

childhood and that of her own offspring as ordinary and unspoiled by wealth.⁴⁸ The imagined bond between subject and monarch rested on the understanding that Victoria had shared the joys and sorrows of her people. A minister in Sheffield remembered her as having given comfort to 'the humblest fisherfolk sorrowing for their dead...the poor women waiting on the pit hill after a colliery explosion, ... her wounded soldiers, her neighbours, ... the simple shepherd folk.'⁴⁹

In death as in life the idealised Queen was thus imagined to mitigate the deep class divisions of English society. Working-class and poor people were described as being especially stricken with grief. The Canon of All Saints Church in South Lambeth claimed that, 'the Queen has no more deeply attached subjects than those who toil in South London... she is the mother and the pride and joy of us all, and we turn to her tonight not only as to our Queen, but as to the friend of our very earliest life.'⁵⁰ Similarly, magazines told stories of sadness among the poor and printed illustrations to convey their mood. Journalists offered the story of the wreath collection as evidence that all classes mourned her in death. The wreaths, one paper wrote, came from the 'humblest to the highest ... the workhouse ... the palace.'⁵¹ Most accounts of the funeral stressed that both rich and poor attended. *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, for example, described 'many well dressed women and hard looking men, rich and poor, old and young, whose faces were wet with tears.'⁵² Illustrations depicted people of various classes, often in dimly lit settings, with downcast grief stricken faces.⁵³ Taking up this point, the *Daily Mail* contended that the desire to

⁴⁸ T. Nelson, *Victoria the Great, The Story of the Queen's Life*, A Reader for Schools, London, 1897, pp. 14 & 18, W. Finden & E. Finden, *Portraits of the Female Aristocracy of the Court of Queen Victoria*, Hogarth, London, 1839, pp. 86-89, W. Worthington, *The Book of the Boudoir; or, The Court of Queen Victoria*, Tilt, London, 1846, pp. 30-31.

⁴⁹ *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 26 January 1901, p.8. See also: *Reading Mercury*, 2 February 1901, p. 2.

⁵⁰ A. Edwards, 'Sermon at All Saints, South Lambeth,' reported in *The Times*, 21 January 1901, p. 10.

⁵¹ *Daily Mail*, 1 February 1901, p. 4 & *The Times*, 4 February 1901, p. 7.

⁵² *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 3 February 1901, p. 3. See also: *Reading Mercury*, 2 February 1901, p. 2.

⁵³ *Graphic Funeral Number*, 6 February 1901, p. 21 & *Illustrated London News*, 9 February 1901, p. 197.

mourn the Queen, 'does not come from a class, it is not echoed in from a clique. England has lost its greatest Queen ... and England bows its head.'⁵⁴

It was not only the nation that was portrayed as united in mourning, but the empire as well. Whereas in 1897 the colonies had joined in celebration, now Britain was joined by the 'Empire ... bowed with weeping at the gate.'⁵⁵ The Countess of Jersey, founder of the imperialist Victoria League, noted that it felt 'as if the whole empire had become one great orphaned family.'⁵⁶ The *Daily Telegraph* commented that, 'If the unity of the empire had been manifested in the South African War Effort,' it is now 'consecrated in sorrow.'⁵⁷ The covers of several pictorial magazines depicted the sorrow of the empire. The *Gentlewoman's* memorial issue showed, in addition to weeping angels, wreaths from various colonies arranged around a portrait of the Queen. The large cover illustration of the *Graphic's* funeral number was reminiscent of the publication's Diamond Jubilee illustrations. In it men and women representing various classes, professions and colonial identities pay tribute to Victoria who is represented by a monument shrouded in black.⁵⁸

Newspapers and magazines, especially pro-empire ones, also published accounts of grief in the colonies over the Queen's illness and death. As Victoria lay ill, the *Daily Mail* wrote that 'passionate anxiety and throbbing apprehension are felt throughout the length and breadth of India.' After her death the same paper wrote that because of black Jamaicans' 'great loyalty and love for Her Majesty ... signs of mourning are everywhere.'⁵⁹ Illustrated magazines printed photos of statues of Victoria in the colonies surrounded by mourners

⁵⁴ *Daily Mail*, 1 February 1901, p. 4.

⁵⁵ This was a common theme of shared empire wide mourning, an Imperial family joined in grief: *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 26 January 1901, p. 1; *Manchester Evening News*, 1 February 1901, p. 2 & *Brisbane Courier*, 4 February 1901, p. 6.

⁵⁶ Countess of Jersey, *Fifty One Years of Victorian Life*, John Murray, London, 1922, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Telegraph*, 23 January 1901, p. 6.

⁵⁸ *Gentlewoman Memorial Issue*, 5 February 1901, p. 3 & *Graphic Funeral Number*, 6 February 1901, p. 1.

⁵⁹ *Daily Mail*, 21 January 1901, p. 5.

and covered in wreaths.⁶⁰ To prove how 'universal' was love for the late Queen, some newspapers drew special attention to signs of sorrow among the Afrikaners in South Africa, especially the condolences sent by President Kruger.⁶¹

Part of the newspaper portrayal of Victoria as beloved mother crossed over into the imperial arena with overtly racist images of black and Indian subjects that portrayed them as naive and childlike in face of the loss of their Great White Mother. The *Pall Mall Gazette* reported that in South Africa 'the natives are incredulous, and say they cannot realise that their Great White Mother is dead.' 'Many,' the paper continued, 'believed that such an event was impossible.'⁶² This shock seems very similar to that expressed by many upper- and middle-class Britons. Yet when filtered through the prevalent image of blacks and Indians as childlike, their supposed surprise at Victoria's death had a different meaning than that of whites in Britain. However, there is a parallel between the portrayal of the grief of the British and of that of colonial subjects. Although upper and middle-class grief was noted in the press, accounts of mourning also covered the sorrow of poor and working people the length and breadth of the empire. In part, this was probably because 'fisherfolk' and 'cottagers' better represented archetypal British values but they also served to reinforce the portrayal of Victoria as protector of humble people throughout the empire. As Peter Eldridge put in a sermon delivered in London in 1901:

Day by day that woman's name has been a strength, and sometimes an inspiration to the humblest peasant... to the poorest seamstress... [in Canada and Australia] the sons of toil, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water have looked upon this English

⁶⁰ *Graphic*, 6 February 1901 p. 38; *Illustrated London News*, 6 February 1901, p. 1 & *Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 February 1901, pp. 2-5.

⁶¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 January 1901. p. 8. & *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 3 February 1901, p. 3.

⁶² See also: *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 1 February 1901, p. 8. & *Straits Times*, 26 January 1901, p. 3. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 January 1901, p. 8.

widow as the friend and protectress of the poor ... in India the cry of every coolie in distress has been Doya Maharini! - I appeal to the Queen.⁶³

This image of the Queen as comforter of the nation had special resonance in the context of the South African War. In the last year of her life, the Queen had been portrayed as deeply troubled by the war in South Africa. A photograph of a worried-looking Victoria leaning on the arm of an Indian servant while she listened to dispatches was widely circulated, as were illustrations of her giving presents to the children of troops.⁶⁴ In a sermon at Westminster Abbey, H. Hensley Henson noted that, 'Even this hateful war has been tributary to her fame ... She rose in the power and splendour of her patriotic sympathy to comfort and cheer her people.'⁶⁵ G. A. Henty, author of many imperial adventures for boys, wrote, 'Never was she so deeply enthroned in the hearts of her subjects as during this time of stress and suffering.'⁶⁶ The *London Standard* concurred that the war provided 'the occasion for proving, more eloquently than ever, the closeness of the ties between the Queen and her people.'⁶⁷

Victoria's death during the South African war only confirmed the belief that she shared the suffering of her subjects. Commentators both for and against the war blamed the stress induced by the conflict for at least partially causing Victoria's death. *The Times*, solidly behind the war effort, speculated that the 'painful stresses of the last eighteen months must have drained heavily upon the vital powers of the Queen.' The *Speaker*, opposed to the war,

⁶³ P. Eldridge, *Our Mother-Queen: A Sermon preached on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria*, Vacher & Sons, London, 1901, pp. 1-10.

⁶⁴ *Illustrated London News*, 9 February 1901, p. 81. See also: *Graphic*, 20 May 1899, p. 20 & *Glasgow Herald*, 9 January 1900, p. 7.

⁶⁵ H. Hensley Henson, *A Sermon, preached at Westminster Abbey - 27 January 1901*, MacMillan, London, 1901, p. 6.

⁶⁶ G.A. Henty, *Queen Victoria, Scenes from Her Life and Reign*, Blackie & Sons, London, 1901, p. 259.

⁶⁷ *London Standard*, 23 January 1901, p. 1. See also: D. Bredesen, 'The 'Widdy's' Empire: Queen Victoria as Widow in Kipling's Soldiers Stories and in the Barrack-Room Ballads.' M. Homans and A. Munich (Eds.), *Remaking Victoria*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997, p. 227-229.

referred to the 'agonies the Queen has suffered from disasters for which she was in no way responsible.' *Reynolds's News*, a mass circulation newspaper founded by a Chartist, also cited the death of the Queen as yet more evidence of the folly of the war: 'Mr. Chamberlain's War in South Africa has claimed the sovereign of these islands as its latest victim.'⁶⁸ The fact that the newspaper attributed the conflict to Chamberlain, not only exculpating the Queen but making her a victim, speaks volumes. At the same time, some, hoped that good might come from Victoria's death. The *London Standard* suffered from at least naivety, if not delusion, in suggesting that perhaps the 'common grief of Britons and Afrikaners may abate those racial animosities which stand in the way of pacification.' More generally, the notion that the war killed Victoria deepened the image of her as a woman sanctified by suffering. Not only had the Queen endured widowhood but now, as W. T. Stead put it, 'on the heart of Queen Victoria the words South Africa may be written.'⁶⁹ It was the final scar, accumulated over a very long reign.

Empathy with the Queen's suffering, however, does not explain why people perceived her death as a watershed moment in British history. Others, notably George III, had occupied the throne for nearly as many years.⁷⁰ It was possible to associate Victoria with stability and continuity in a way that would have been difficult with earlier monarchs. The gradual withdrawal of the crown from partisan politics during her reign, already discussed, did have the effect of positioning the Queen as something of an unchanging and uncontroversial presence in the public eye. Victoria, as a monarch who appeared above the push and shove of politics, had according to Walter Bagehot already in 1867, become immune to shifts in public opinion and the taint of political intrigue.⁷¹

⁶⁸ *The Times*, 22 January 1901, p. 9; *Speaker*, 26 January 1901, p. 449 & *Reynolds's News*, 27 January 1901, p. 1.

⁶⁹ *London Standard*, 23 January 1901, p. 1 & *Review of Reviews*, 31 January 1901, p. 127.

⁷⁰ L. Colley, *Britons*, Yale University Press, London, 1992, p. 231.

⁷¹ W. Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1867, pp. 41-2.

Although Victoria was imagined to be somehow above politics and the daily grind of the nation, she was also remembered as personally connected to figures and events that had already slipped into the realm of history. 'To the mere history student,' the Countess of Jersey explained, 'this monarch's life was a wonderful co-relating of distant and present days, past and present men.' But, unlike the historical figures whom the Queen had known, she had remained a stable presence. 'Statesmen and soldiers had given place to their successors', commented the Countess of Jersey, 'but for over sixty years the Queen had been the unchanging centre of our national life.'⁷² With the death of Victoria, a connection to the past was lost. Gone was what the *Speaker* referred to as 'our mother and the symbol of our past.'⁷³

In the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century, female figures were often used symbolically to embody the past. Such symbolic characters may even have served to compensate for the sense of loss engendered by the rapid social changes of the period.⁷⁴ Victoria also occupied a place in the imagination in some ways similar to that of Marianne in France, or Liberty and Columbia in the United States. The *Architectural Review* saw such female figures as 'embodying both respectability and the collective sense of national purpose,' while to the *Builder* such idealized female forms 'fortified ideals-of respectability.'⁷⁵ As the embodiment of the nation's past, she had also become a kind of living symbol of nation and empire. The imperialist poet William Henley wrote 'For she was England - England and our Queen.'⁷⁶ In her casket lay, according to *The Times*, 'the heart of England.'⁷⁷ The difference between 'Englishness' and 'Britishness' was unclear to

⁷² Countess of Jersey, *Fifty One Years of Victorian Life*, p. 380.

⁷³ *Speaker*, 26 January 1901, p. 6.

⁷⁴ J. Gillis, 'Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship,' *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Princeton University, Princeton, 1994, p. 10.

⁷⁵ *Builder*, 26 January 1901, p. 1. See also: *Architectural Review*, 11 April 1896, pp. 11-14.

⁷⁶ W.H. Henley, 'In Memoriam Reginae Dilectissimae Victoriae,' *Poems*, MacMillan, London, 1921, pp. 246-55.

⁷⁷ *The Times*, 28 January 1901, p. 7. See also: *Telegraph*, 25 January 1901, p. 4 & *Aberdeen Journal*, 24 January 1901, p. 5.

many and in Victorian settings of home and empire the terms were thought to mean much the same thing.

Linda Colley argues that 'Britishness' was a separate identity alongside other identities, and was forged even before Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837. She sees war with Catholic France as the catalyst that cemented Protestantism as a central part of being British. However, her most crucial point is that a person could also be English, Welsh, Scottish or even Australian or Canadian at the same time as being British: 'Identities are not like hats. Human beings can and do put on several at a time.'⁷⁸ This could partially explain some of the inconsistencies, contradictions and slippage between 'Englishness' and 'Britishness'. They have never been stable terms, or easy to describe, they are always in a process of formation. In 1901 they were almost synonymous, in a way that is unfamiliar today. Colley's powerful construction has not gone unchallenged. Whereas she sees 'Britishness' as one identity among others, Keith Robbins sees 'Britishness' as an extraordinary identity focused on 'Englishness,' and one that was imposed on the Scots, Welsh, Irish and then other colonies as they came under English control.⁷⁹ Richard Weight, on the other hand, has suggested that 'Britishness' was concerned with capitalism, imperialism and Protestantism. The United Kingdom and Britishness, according to Weight, was enforced upon the lower classes, colonies and non-Protestants.⁸⁰ While, writing from a Singaporean perspective, Angelia Poon, has drawn attention to the image of Queen Victoria and its place in enacting 'Britishness' abroad. For her 'Britishness' was, in keeping with the Robbins and Weight model, nothing more than imposed 'Englishness.' Poon gives special attention to the performative aspect of colonial loyalty. Even though she does not directly discuss them, the similarity of the many celebratory and memorial ceremonies across Britain and the empire in 1897 and 1901 and the public nature of the displays of

⁷⁸ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2nd edit. 2005, pp. 11-13.

⁷⁹ K. Robbins, 'An imperial and Multinational Polity, 1832-1922,' in A. Grant and K.J. Stringer (eds), *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*, Routledge, London, 1995, p. 249.

⁸⁰ K. Weight, *Patriots: National Identity in Britain 1940-2000*, Pan, London, 2003, pp. 8-9.

loyalty and mourning, provide important evidence to support her thesis that 'Britishness' was enacted in such communal events.⁸¹

The image of Victoria was central to celebrations of 'Britishness.' Like other symbolic female figures, she was seen as unchanging and embodying history but unlike the others, she was actually a real person and subject to the laws of nature. To the poet Harold Begbie the Queen seemed the 'one constant and immutable star' by which Britain and the empire navigated their course.⁸² The *Topical Times* described how:

... when they rise on Indian hills, by Australian camp fires, in sun-swept African deserts, or amid Canadian wilds, to drink "The Queen, God Bless Her," and to sing "The National Anthem," there is more in the kindling heart and moistening eye of these proud empire builders than a knowledge of their unity with the most powerful and widespread race the earth has ever known. Behind the ideas and institutions for which "the name of England, England the name of Might," has come to stand in the imagination of the best Englishmen everywhere, has shone for long past the sympathy impelling figure of the Good Grey Queen, widowed and dignified, tender and motherly.⁸³

The sense that Victoria's death marked a rupture in life was heightened by the consciousness in 1901 that a distinct period of history was ending. Unlike the contemporaries of Elizabeth or the Georges, Victorians knew that they were Victorians. In 1901, people believed that it was not only a reign that was ending but a historical era of imperial glory. Indeed, Victorians had not waited until the Queen's death to sketch the contours of her reign. As noted previously, in the latter years of the century, especially

⁸¹ A. Poon, *Enacting Englishness in the Victorian Period: Colonialism and the Politics of Performance*, Ashgate, London, 2008, pp. 1-20.

⁸² *Morning Post*, 26 January 1901, p. 2.

⁸³ *Topical Times*, 26 January 1901, p. 7.

during the Diamond Jubilee, magazines, newspapers, and souvenirs featured reviews of the reign. As in those years, commentators in 1901 remembered and glorified the accomplishments of the recent past. Imperial expansion, technological advances, and improvements in education and social welfare were all cited as evidence that the reign just ended was the most glorious of all.⁸⁴ Journalists and politicians evoked other great reigns in English history. In Parliament, Lord Rosebery even declared that 'beside the Victorian epoch the glories of the Elizabethan seem poor and pale.'⁸⁵ Another writer suggested that her funeral was something more than the funeral procession of a great and worthy Queen. 'It was indeed, the greatest epoch in English history that was being rolled back like a scroll, a scroll on which was written the story of that transcendent era in the history of our own race.'⁸⁶

The British diplomat, Cecil Spring Rice, wrote from Persia, that the local population had believed Victoria to be 'the good angel who saved us from destruction and that our glory is gone with her.' His tone betraying that he seems to almost agree himself.⁸⁷ Arthur Balfour, the future Conservative Prime Minister, attributed the deep-seated and almost universal nature of public grief not only to the loss of the individual but also to the feeling 'that the end of a great epoch has come.'⁸⁸ The *Spectator*, a right-of-centre, conservative magazine, felt that the Queen's passing had induced 'a distinct and unexpected diminution in ... faith in the stability of things.'⁸⁹

⁸⁴ M. Hewitt, 'Why the Notion of Victorian Britain Does Make Sense,' *Victorian Studies*, Volume 48, Number 3, Spring 2006, pp. 395-434.

⁸⁵ *Speaker*, 2 February 1901, p.2 & *The Times*, 16 February 1901, p. 3.

⁸⁶ R. Davey, *Pageant of London*, Methuen, London, 1906, pp. 622-623.

⁸⁷ S. Gwynn (ed.), *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, Constable, London, 1929, vol.i., p. 331.

⁸⁸ *The Times*, 26 January 1901, p. 3.

⁸⁹ *Spectator*, 28 January 1901, p. 12.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* stated that when the Queen died, 'Up rushed the dark, as if blotting out the solemn glories of a tropical sunset.' Many felt, like one writer in *Lady's Pictorial*, that there would be an 'enormous change in our nation's history wrought by the death of Victoria the Great.'⁹⁰ This sense of loss and impending change was heightened by a confluence of factors. To contemporaries, it was striking that the Queen died on the 'threshold of the twentieth century.'⁹¹ The proximity of the two events seemed to magnify the significance of each: 'A great event, the passing of a Century, is deeply inscribed... [with] the passing of the Century's greatest monarch.'⁹² Victoria's death was bound up in the uncertainty that accompanied the new century, a century which brought increasing fears about international competition and the future of the empire.⁹³ The imagined glories of the past took on a halcyon glow when viewed from an uncertain present. One writer suggested the contrast between past and present by comparing the memory of 1897 with the reality of 1901: in looking back to 1897, 'one lives again in the tumult and the shouting' and forgets 'Century end, century beginning, war and khaki, sickness, wounds and death.'⁹⁴

Men and women in Britain and across the empire experienced Victoria's death on different levels. Her passing represented the loss of a beloved figure and symbolic presence that embodied continuity and a glorious past. The *Morning Post* summed up the national mood when it characterised the funeral procession of Victoria as 'the last actual moment which unites the present with the past, the past with its overwhelming memories of a great and noble life, and the present with its ever increasing sense of loss both personal and

⁹⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 January 1901, p. 5. & *Lady's Pictorial Memorial Number*, 2 February 1901, p. 52.

⁹¹ T. Catling, *My Life's Pilgrimage*, John Murray, London, 1911, p. 292.

⁹² M.C. Inman, *In Memoriam V. R. I.* (A Valedictum on our late Most Gracious Sovereign, Victoria, R. I.), British Library, Oxford, 1901, BL: 1865.c.8.(72).

⁹³ M. Teich & R. Porter, (eds.), *Fin de Siecle and Its Legacy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.

⁹⁴ P.X. Eldridge, *Our Mother-Queen: A Sermon preached... on the occasion of the death of... Queen Victoria*, Vacher & Sons, London, 1901.

national.⁹⁵ There were ways, however, in which the Queen's subjects, especially writers and artists, sought to mitigate the sadness and anxiety occasioned by her death.

As with every monarch, Victoria was seen to be connected to both the past and future through succession. This was curious in Victoria's case because somehow she was disconnected from the excesses of the Georges while still remaining connected with the more distant and admired Elizabeth I and King Alfred. The medieval concept of the king never dying - of only his natural body being mortal while his 'body politic' lived forever - was no longer an accepted and comforting truth in 1901.⁹⁶ Instead, poets and journalists looked to Victoria's prolific maternity as the secure tie to the future. She had not only prepared her son for the throne, but also 'From her notable womb sprang a line of kings.'⁹⁷ Portraits of her and her descendants offered reassuring, and seemingly never-ending, continuity. Especially striking was a section in the *Illustrated London News* which included portraits of the sixty-two living descendants of Queen Victoria, more than adequate testimony to her having fulfilled her motherly duties and by doing so left a strong foundation for the future.⁹⁸ In the Poet Laureate's tribute to her, curious in its use of 'race' instead of 'nation' and possibly the logical extension of the use of the writer's use of family as a trope, she is depicted reassuring her people by reminding them:

I have left you, of my race,
Sons of wisdom, wives of grace,
Who again have offspring reared
To revere and be revered⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Morning Post*, 2 February 1901, p. 2.

⁹⁶ E.H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Theology*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1957, pp. 110-113.

⁹⁷ Extract from: W.H. Henley, 'In Memoriam Reginae Dilectissimae Victoriae', 1901.

⁹⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 2 February 1901, pp. 168-9. See, for similar presentations: *Gentlewoman Memorial Issue*, 5 February 1901, p. 3 & *Graphic Funeral Number*, 6 February 1901, p. 1.

⁹⁹ A. Austin, 'Victoria,' extract in: *Daily Mail*, 24 January 1901, p. 4.

Many writers and artists also portrayed Victoria as a continuing, spiritual presence. This perception of her life after death was in keeping with a common belief during the nineteenth century that heaven was a real place. Heaven, for Victorians, was a place for joyful family reunions.¹⁰⁰ There, the Queen was pictured happily reunited with Albert: 'Smile, lips, because in Paradise, Lover with love again is met.'¹⁰¹ Her resting place alongside Albert in their mausoleum at Frogmore symbolised the imagined continuation of their relationship: 'where they were so closely and so loving united in their lives will forever rest together in death.'¹⁰² In keeping with the prevailing view of death, Victoria's passing was repeatedly described as a loss only for the living, since she had gone to a higher reward. The *Review of Reviews* published an illustration of Victoria meeting Jesus, while the *Illustrated London News* offered an exclusive deathbed portrait of the dead Queen with a cross hovering over her head.¹⁰³

Representations of Victoria in heaven also reflected just how extensively she was idealised. Victoria was not only going to heaven, but she was also portrayed by even smaller newspapers like the *Weekly Times and Echo* as assuming a fittingly regal position there too: 'To us comes death-in-life, and heart's distress/To Her the everlasting crown has come.'¹⁰⁴ Samuel Hynes notes that in memorial poetry, praise of Victoria often drifted 'into a kind of Victoriolatry, and the Queen Mother becomes the Queen of Heaven.'¹⁰⁵ Indeed, there were even allusions to resurrection. *The Times* described the scene in the chapel at Osborne

¹⁰⁰ J.R. Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual and the Quest for Family Values*, Basic Books, New York 1996, pp. 218-9.

¹⁰¹ This is actually the subject of a small illustration, part of a larger collage of Victoria's life and afterlife in: *Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 February 1901, p. 2.

¹⁰² *The Times*, 28 January 1901, p. 9. The whole concept of the royal mausoleum at Frogmore fascinated the Australian press. See: *Argus*, 22 January 1901, p. 5; *Mercury*, 25 January 1901, p. 3 & even the *Singleton Argus*, 26 January 1901, p. 4.

¹⁰³ *Review of Reviews*, 1 February 1901, p. 125 & *Illustrated London News*, 30 January 1901, p. 141.

¹⁰⁴ *Weekly Times and Echo*, 2 February 1901, p. 1

¹⁰⁵ S. Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1968, p. 15.

where her body lay, 'There in the casket of cedar and lead and oak, lay the heart of England, and many of England's hopes, not dead, but ready to rise again.'¹⁰⁶ Poet William Henley developed the resurrection analogy further when he wrote,

Innumerable victorious, she lay down
To die in a world renewed;
Cleared, in her luminous umbrage beautified
For Man, and changing fast
Into so gracious an inheritance
As Man had never dared
Imagine.¹⁰⁷

The notion that Queen Victoria would continue to exert influence from beyond the grave fitted well with the growing popularity, at the time, of spiritualism.¹⁰⁸ In late-Victorian and Edwardian England, séances and mediums offered the chance to speak to departed loved ones; no doubt there were some that sought to communicate with Victoria.¹⁰⁹ The poet laureate, in a memorial poem which seems designed to assuage concern about the transition, imagines Victoria speaking from beyond the grave:

Dead I am not, no, asleep
Over you I still will reign,
Still will comfort and sustain,
Through all welfare, through all ill,

¹⁰⁶ *The Times*, 28 January 1901, p.7. Very similar sentiments were also displayed in: *English Woman's Review*, 15 October 1897, pp. 209-217 & *Edinburgh Evening News*, 1 December 1897, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Extract from: W.H. Henley, 'In Memoriam Reginae Dilectissimae Victoriae,' 1901.

¹⁰⁸ A. Owen, *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Nineteenth Century Britain*, Virago, London, 1989.

¹⁰⁹ A. Melechi, *Servants of the Supernatural: The Night Side of the Victorian Mind*, Random House, London, 2009, p.p. 87-9.

You shall be my People still.¹¹⁰

In this poem, she continues to offer reassurances, describing the descendants she has left to rule in her place. This time, there is even an almost Christ like allusion, possibly with Edward as Jesus and Victoria as God:

Chief amongst them [Victoria's children] all is One

Well you know, my first-born Son,

Give Him what to Me you gave,

Who am watching from Above,

Reverence, Loyalty, and Love!¹¹¹

However, this kind of praise should not be taken as evidence that people really believed Victoria to be a Christ like figure. But, it does suggest several things about how the monarchy was viewed, how Victoria was mourned and how her death highlighted certain anxieties in turn-of-the-century Britain. As the monarchy had modernised and the personal charisma of Victoria had become central to the throne's mystique, the loss of that individual had to be assuaged in new ways. Personal connections to her children and the image of the Queen in heaven, suggested a continuity based not only on monarchical succession but also on the character of this important woman and on the strength of the family she had created.

For years afterwards, the passing of the Queen was remembered as the endpoint of an era of glory and certainty for Britain. John Galsworthy, in *The Forsyte Saga*, used the funeral as a set piece dividing the old world from the new. In a lengthy section about the event, he describes the appearance of Victoria's coffin, 'There it was - the bier of the Queen, coffin

¹¹⁰ A. Austin, extract from 'Victoria,' *Daily Mail*, 24 January 1901, p. 4.

¹¹¹ A. Austin, extract from 'Victoria,' *Daily Mail*, 24 January 1901, p. 4.

of the Age slow passing!’ He then goes on to describe the crowd emitting ‘a murmuring groan... Strange sound indeed!’ That sound, to Galsworthy’s mind, was the ‘Tribute of an Age to its own death... Ah! Ah!’¹¹² Later in the 1930s, Noel Coward also devoted three scenes of his play *Cavalcade* to the death of Victoria. ‘England,’ one of the servants says upon hearing the news of Victoria’s death, ‘won’t arf seem funny without the Queen!’¹¹³ They would not to be without their Queen for long, as cities and towns turned to the task of preserving Victoria’s image for posterity, in bronze and stone.

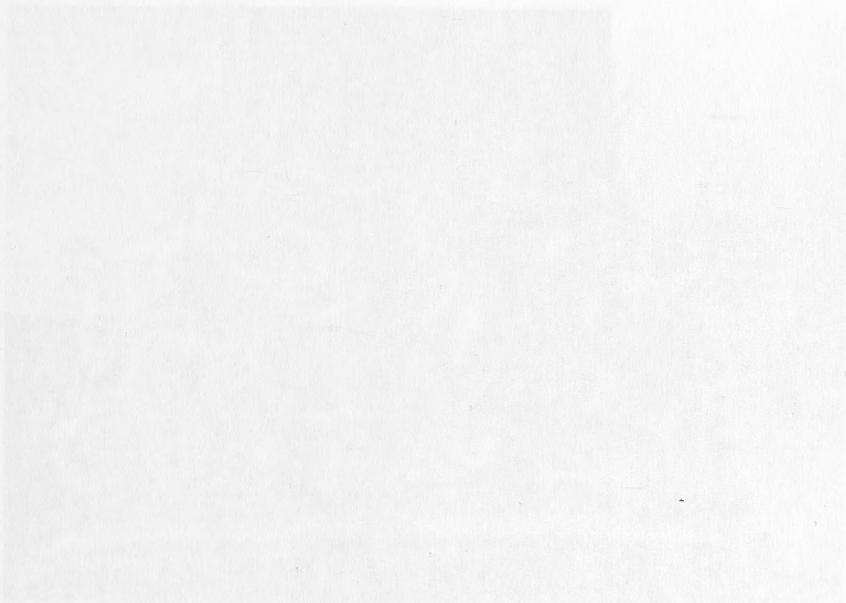


Figure 29. Victoria Memorial, Victoria Park, London, designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott, 1897-1901. (Source: www.victoriapark.org.uk)

¹¹² J. Galsworthy, *The Forsyte Saga*, Book II, Scribners, New York, 1930, pp. 574-575.

¹¹³ N. Coward, *Cavalcade*, W. Heinmann, London, 1932, p. 82.

Part Three:

‘Our dead are never dead to us, until we have forgotten them.’

George Eliot



Figure 29. 'Victoria Memorial,' Figure of Victoria, Queen's Gardens, Buckingham Palace, London, dedicated 1911. Author's own photograph.

9. Preposterously Overdone

A public meeting on 9 April 1896 at Hove, on the South coast of England, led to a decision to commemorate the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria with a bronze statue which was to be 'a work of art,' the design brief being simply 'a Memorial Statue of large proportions and of the highest class.'¹ An Executive Committee was appointed to choose a sculptor and to decide on its style and location. The final figure of the statue, when delivered, was 3.96m tall. An impression of great height was further achieved by then placing the statue on an ornately decorated bronze base set on a 4.26m pedestal. The statue was cast in bronze allowing for greater detail in the robes, decorations and other accoutrements. From a practical perspective, the bronze also provided added durability for a statue that would be exposed for many years to the extreme elements at the sea front site chosen for it. (Figure 30.)



Figure 30. 'Queen Victoria Memorial, Hove,' unveiled 9 February 1901 Grand Avenue, Hove, Sussex. Photograph David Lee with permission.

¹ *Hove Echo*, 16 April 1896, p. 1.

The statue, when finished, featured something new - Victoria's head faced forward unlike many past representations of the Queen where her head was turned to one side. There was also a larger than normal veil and it was without her usual widow's cap. The dramatic folds of her Garter robes were voluminous, more so than they would have been in real life, increasing the statue's monumentality. A small statuette of Winged Victory, symbolic of imperial power and majesty surmounted an orb held in the figure of Victoria's hand. Beneath her, the design also included four bronze bas-reliefs on a granite pedestal. Granite had been chosen to ensure that it would 'possess the highest artistic merit' and would be 'of the most permanent and imperishable nature.'² In a speech approving this statue, in April 1896, the Chairman of Hove Council referred to 'the extraordinary developments in arts and science, in trade and commerce...and the education of the poorest' during Victoria's reign.' So it is no surprise that the three themes adopted for a bas-reliefs below Victoria were: Art and Science, Commerce and Education. Significantly, one more was later added to the list - Empire.³

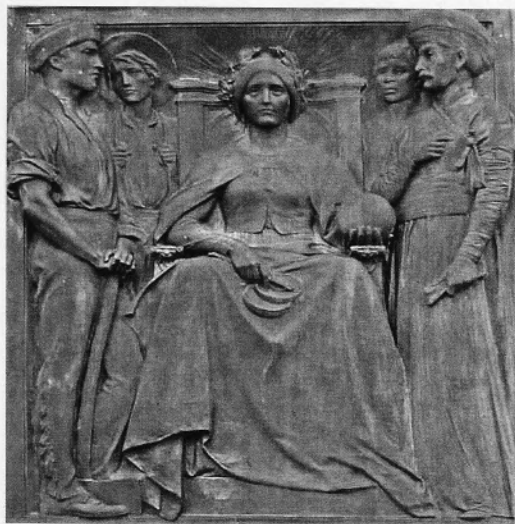


Figure 31. 'Empire,' a relief at the base of the 'Queen Victoria Memorial, Hove,' unveiled 9 February 1901 Grand Avenue, Hove, Sussex. Photograph David Lee with permission.

² HPL: *Order of the Unveiling Ceremony*, 4 February 1901, Hove Public Library & *Hove Echo*, 6 February 1901, p. 2.

³ *Hastings and St Leonards Observer*, 5 February 1901, p. 4 & *Hove Echo*, 16 April 1896, p. 1.

That plaque depicting Empire is still in pride of place at the front of the pedestal. A central seated female figure on the plaque represents the ideal of imperial rule. Scales of justice rest in the lap of the empire symbolizing the way the Queen's Dominions were ruled with fairness and equity. She is flanked by four standing male figures, on her right, Canada and Australia in working dress, the Canadian holding an axe, the Australian wearing a slouch hat. On her left, representing Asia and Africa, there is an Indian figure wearing traditional dress and peering from behind the Indian an almost obscured African. (Figure 31.) The art critic Elizabeth Darby had no trouble in interpreting just what the project had intended, '...the statue is impressive and awe-inspiring. More than a mere likeness of Queen Victoria, it conveys an idea of the magnitude and stability of the British Empire at its zenith.'⁴

Victoria died on 22 January 1901 and the statue was unveiled on 9 February 1901 by the Mayoress of Hove in a subdued memorial ceremony.⁵ It is signed on the plinth and on each panel by the sculptor Thomas Brock. Inscribed on the front of the pedestal are the words: 'Erected by the Inhabitants of Hove to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria. June 20, AD. 1897, Victoria Dei Gra - Britanniae Regina - Fidei Defensor - Ind Imperatrix,' and on the back with: 'Born 24 May 1819. Died 22 Jan. 1901.'⁶ The *Brighton Herald* explained the unhappy circumstances of its unveiling:

Prepared originally as a memorial of the happy and glorious Jubilee of 1897, the fine statue of Queen Victoria, which has stood veiled for several weeks at the foot

⁴ E. Darby, *Statues of Queen Victoria & Prince Albert: A Study in Commemorative and Portrait Statuary 1837-1924*, PhD Thesis London University, 1983, p. 379.

⁵ *Hove Echo*, 9 February 1901, p. 1 & *Builder*, 23 February 1901, p. 179.

⁶ The Hove Library has a copy of the programme of the unveiling ceremony which gives details about the statue. This is the major source of information as this is one of the only such ceremony that I have found where there were no speeches delivered at the inauguration. BAH: Programme for the Unveiling Ceremony, Queen Victoria, 9 February 1901, Jubilee Library Rare Book Collection, 942.08.

of Grand Avenue, Hove, will today be unveiled at a time of melancholy appropriateness. Just a week ago, during the overwhelming manifestations of public grief that attended the Queen's funeral on the great Day of Mourning, her statue, though then entirely hidden, was strewn round with affectionate tributes of wreaths. The unveiling of the statue today will be followed by the placing upon it of a wreath subscribed for publicly by the women of Hove. In such a time of common sorrow, there can, of course, be no thought of speeches at the unveiling.⁷

The fact that it was the first statue to be unveiled after the Queen's death attracted considerable local, national and even overseas attention. It links the Diamond Jubilee of 1897 with Victoria's death in 1901 in a symbolic as well as a physical way. The Hove statue was one of many of the Queen that had, since 1897, filled important public spaces across Britain and the empire. A process that continued well after her death. The citizens of Carlisle, in response to Victoria's death, decided on 12 February 1901 that they too needed a statue of the late Queen. On 12 March 1901 the local Council voted £1,500 for the purpose and elected a Memorial Committee. One of the first acts of that committee was to visit Hove. They reported back that the statue they saw there was 'full of grace, dignity and majesty and was a good personal likeness of the late Queen.'⁸ In 1902 the Mayor and three others contributed a further £400 so that copies of the same four bas-reliefs present at Hove could also be placed on the Carlisle statue's pedestal. This bronze statue, was the same height as Hove at 3.96m but was to be placed on an even higher 4.6m pedestal of grey Aberdeen granite. It was unveiled with much ceremony on 7 July 1902 by Prince Christian of Schleswig Holstein, the late Queen's son-in-law.⁹

⁷ *Brighton Herald*, 9 February 1901, p. 1 & See also: *Hastings and St Leonards Observer*, 5 February 1901, p. 3.

⁸ *Carlisle Journal*, 14 February 1901, p. 2 & *Carlisle Express and Examiner*, 15 March 1901, p. 1.

⁹ *Carlisle Express and Examiner*, 7 July 1902, p. 1; *Builder*, 19 July 1902, p. 61 & *Illustrated London News*, 12 July 1902, p. 52.

In September 1901 the Cawnpore Memorial Committee, in India, headed by Alexander Roberts the owner of the Cawnpore Woollen Mills, also commissioned a bronze replica of the Hove statue but this time with the Queen wearing a diadem rather than a coronet.¹⁰ The same four bas-reliefs as on the Hove statue were placed on a 5.5m pedestal, which was made locally of Orchha stone. The statue arrived from Britain in July 1903 and was unveiled by Lieutenant Governor, Sir James La Touche, on 27 January 1904.¹¹ Yet another copy of the Hove statue was commissioned in India by the city of Lucknow and installed on a granite pedestal in 'Victoria Park.'¹²

A Memorial Committee in Agra also commissioned a statue but were initially anxious not to appear to be simply copying Cawnpore and Lucknow. However, after discussions and negotiations, money triumphed and it was agreed in early 1902 that they too would purchase a bronze replica of the Hove statue. At £1,500 and on a 4.26m pedestal of Carrara marble, it was the most visually appealing and cost effective option. The setting, however, would be quite different to either Cawnpore or Lucknow, theirs would be set in an ornamental pond, with bronze shell fountains. This version of the statue was also a little different because of the addition of allegorical winged figures depicting 'Truth' and 'Justice,' and a pedestal that had only one bas-relief, the one depicting 'Empire.' This statue was cast in England, shipped out, put in place and unveiled by the Prince of Wales on 18 December 1905.¹³

The Memorial Committee in Bangalore at first considered establishing a technical institute as a tribute to Victoria but after a public meeting in May 1902 decided to have a statue

¹⁰ M.A. Steggles, *Statues of the Raj*, British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia, 2000, p. 194.

¹¹ *The Times*, 16 February 1904, p. 11.

¹² M.A. Steggles, *Statues of the Raj*, British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia, 2000, p. 194.

¹³ E. Darby, *Statues of Queen Victoria & Prince Albert: A Study in Commemorative and Portrait Statuary 1837-1924*, PhD Thesis London University, 1983, p. 399.

instead.¹⁴ However, instead of a bronze statue of the Hove type, the Bangalore Committee ordered a marble replica of an earlier Queen Victoria statue located in Worcester. Like the original Hove statue, the Worcester statue had also been designed by Thomas Brock, the foremost sculptor of statues of Queen Victoria at the time. Brock had a distinctive French style, considered by critics to be vigorous and realistic. He also had an eye for detail and attention to surface finish. His emphasis on the overall harmony of his statues with their pedestals and proposed sites usually led to very positive reviews. The Worcester monument had been unveiled on 6 November 1890.¹⁵ The replica for Bangalore arrived in India in July 1905 and then on 5 February 1906, a mere eight weeks after the debut of the Agra statue, it too was unveiled by the Prince of Wales.¹⁶ (Figure 32.) Further copies of the Worcester monument can also be found in Birmingham, Belfast and Cape Town.



Figure 32. 'Queen Victoria,' Cubban Park, Bangalore. Photograph David Lee with permission.

¹⁴ This was an issue that consumed memorial committees all over the world. Was it better, would Victoria have liked a 'practical memorial' that benefitted the community or a 'symbolic structure' that really was no practical use to anyone. The issue usually resolve itself in favour of the symbolic because of the collection of funds that part of the process. Committees did not want to use funds designated for a 'Victoria' memorial for something that could have its name or function changed in the future.

¹⁵ *Worcester Herald*, 7 November 1890, p. 1 & *Tamworth Herald*, 8 November 1890, p. 5.

¹⁶ *The Times*, 6 February 1906, p. 8 & *Builder*, 11 February 1906, p. 11.

Brisbane had established its Victoria Memorial Committee in April 1901 with the object of erecting a statue to the late Queen. In September 1903 the most prominent sculptors in London were invited to submit proposals. Thomas Brock was a frequent contestant in memorial competitions in this period and it was his submission that was chosen, in March 1904, whether this was because it would be a bronze statue 'similar' to Hove's well known image, or because it was a bargain at a price of £1,000 is not clear. The statue was shipped to Brisbane in December 1905 and unveiled by the Governor of Queensland, Lord Chelmsford, on 23 June 1906.¹⁷ (Cover, Figure 1.)

While commemoration of Victoria in hospitals, schools, parks and other utilitarian works were numerous, there was an overwhelming trend for monuments which incorporated sculptural representations of Victoria. Nearly one hundred major statues were erected in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee or as a memorial to her death. The proliferation of statues of her in India during this period was so marked that one anonymous letter writer to a newspaper observed that it had been 'preposterously overdone.'¹⁸ At Cawnpore another statue was commissioned simultaneously as the one already mentioned which would stand in the native quarter of the town; while the Lucknow statue joined an already standing Diamond Jubilee figure of the Queen.

I consider the Diamond Jubilee statues of Queen Victoria and the memorial statues as part of one group. The Hove statue was one of many in being commissioned for the Diamond Jubilee but not completed until after her death in January 1901 and thus also assuming the function of a memorial. Most of these later statues of Victoria, in both Britain and across the empire, were commissioned from British sculptors. The demand for them was so high that the bronze foundries in England were overwhelmed with orders and places like Brisbane and Ipswich were delayed in completing their monuments because of the

¹⁷ *Brisbane Courier*, 25 June 1906, p. 2 & *Queenslander*, 30 June 1906, pp. 26-27, consisting of commentary and two pages of photographs of the occasion.

¹⁸ *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 10 May 1907, p. 25.

backlog.¹⁹ The Statuary and Granite Company, shortly after Victoria's death, even brought out an illustrated brochure featuring three different figures of the Queen that they had for sale. One statue had her standing in her coronation robes, the second standing in everyday dress and the third sitting in everyday dress.²⁰

As can be seen from this brief survey, great stylistic or formal change were not features of this statue boom but there were a few notable exceptions that shall be discussed later.

Most, however, were the products of granite companies and marble companies at Dovercourt, Colchester, Brighton and Rawalpindi. The statues at Geelong, Moulmein, Sarkhej and York were the products of mason sculptors. There were replicas of pre-Diamond Jubilee statues but also completely new figures commissioned from the leading sculptors of the day. All of them are conventional monumental types with simple standing or seated figures. Some are more elaborate than others, a few protected by canopies, still others supported by accessory allegorical sculpture and reliefs - usually around the pedestal or the base, like the Hove statue. Colour was introduced into parts of some monuments by means of gilding and the use of materials such as mosaic. The more grandiose schemes involved the collaboration of architects, town planners and garden designers. Bronze and marble statues of Victoria were produced in approximately equal numbers but other materials were sometimes used. Terracotta was used for figures of her at Gravesend; Newbury; Kingston-upon-Thames and London.

The statues of Queen Victoria from 1897 onwards are characterised by an assortment of styles and treatments from literal realism, to idealised naturalism and on to symbolism. The marble statue located at the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal, is a very sentimental example. It depicts Victoria as a figure of Charity. Some monuments and memorials, from this period, also allude to her compassion and concern for the welfare of her subjects.

¹⁹ *Brisbane Courier*, 4 February 1905, p. 4 & 29 July 1905, p. 4.

²⁰ *Building News*, 18 February 1901, p. 68.

Others try to associate her with ideas like Justice and Peace; to summarise her achievements, or capture the magnitude and strength of the British Empire.

Victoria as she appeared at her Golden Jubilee was the preferred image, the way she looked at the height of her powers and before old age and infirmity took hold. This was undoubtedly a factor in the high number of replicas of 1887 statues reproduced as later Diamond Jubilee and memorial figures. A version of an 1887 marble statue at Amritsar was erected in Brighton in 1897, while bronze replicas of a seated Golden Jubilee portrait statue at Hong Kong were produced for Toronto in 1903 and Kimberley in 1906.²¹ The Kimberley statue doubling as a monument to Edward VII's coronation as well. The 1887 statue at Singapore was reproduced for the Diamond Jubilee monument at Kingston, Jamaica; as the Queen Victoria memorial in Nairobi and for the Moti Bagh Palace Garden at Patiala, India.²² The statue at Reading was repeated in bronze, with modifications, for the memorial to Queen Victoria unveiled at Weymouth in 1902. In this version Victoria's head has been changed to look straight in front, with the eyes lowered. The changes give her a stillness and immutability more appropriate for a memorial image. The train of her cloak, instead of being tightly gathered up on the plinth as it is at Reading, cascades over a more elaborate pedestal in large folds, increasing the illusion of height and dignity.

An original marble statue at Udaipur by the sculptor Charles Bell Birch commissioned for the 1887 Golden Jubilee was reproduced in bronze for Aberdeen in Scotland in 1893 and then copies of that statue were erected in Adelaide in 1894 and at Blackfriars Bridge in London in 1896. The Blackfriars statue was a gift to the city by the engineer and inventor Sir Arthur Seale Haslam.²³ He went on to present copies of the exact same statue as

²¹ *Brighton Herald*, 11 December 1897, p. 2. The article also mentions another version somewhere in Australia, however, if it existed it has now disappeared from the record.

²² This was probably moved to the park from another location. Another Victoria memorial figure was erected at Patiala in 1903.

²³ *The Times*, 22 November 1896, p. 4.

memorials to Queen Victoria to Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1903 and Derby in 1906. Two other copies exist, one was erected by public subscription as a memorial at Scarborough in 1902 and the other is located in Candie Gardens on Guernsey.

Many memorial committees, as can clearly be seen from the copying trails from Hove and Udaipur statues, showed themselves to be conservative in outlook and keen to have a tried and tested representation of the Queen rather than anything that would appear unduly novel or controversial. Cost too was a factor, local funds being severely strained at this time by the Boer War and by the celebrations for Edward VII's coronation. If it was already an accepted and approved model from elsewhere, good; if it was a bargain, so much the better. Value for money was certainly a consideration in the deliberations of nearly all memorial committees. In Brisbane, for instance, subscriptions for a memorial were nowhere near the level that had been anticipated, largely because of a drought at the time. By April 1902 only £723 had been collected, so a carnival in the Botanic Gardens was held which raised a further £165 and then a door knock appeal by a Women's Committee that yielded a further £225.²⁴ Brock, who had originally asked £1,500 for the statue, was persuaded to accept £1,000 under the circumstances.²⁵ The final product in Brisbane, was a generous but not over generous, statue that displayed for all to see the loyalty and appropriate behaviour of the community that commissioned it.

The statue of Queen Victoria at Piccadilly Gardens, Manchester, unveiled in 1901 was quite different from the others. It shows her wearing a dress very similar to the one in her official Diamond Jubilee photograph with a lace over-skirt and veil and a small imperial crown. The enormous folds of her cloak are like the billowing draperies that are often featured in 17th and 18th century portraits and almost envelope the diminutive figure of Victoria, leading the viewer to thoughts of majesty, repose and dignity. The sweep of the

²⁴ *Brisbane Courier*, 23 April 1902, p. 4

²⁵ *Brisbane Courier*, 19 March 1904, p. 4 & *Builder*, 7 July 1906, p. 23.

cloak is balanced by a shallow flight of steps in combination with the curving sides of her throne. The throne is of a Renaissance style and has a bronze group of St. George and the dragon inside the broken pediment. At the back is a draped woman, with a baby in each arm, representing Maternity. It is accompanied by an inscription from Shakespeare's Henry IV: 'Let me but bear your love, I'll bear your care.' This group and inscription symbolised the people's love for their Queen as for their mother and her maternal concern for them. A crown of thorns and roses is discernible under the heavy drapery of the Maternity figure. The national symbol of England combined with a Christian symbol of martyrdom reinforce the theme of Victoria shouldering the burden of her subjects, as a mother bears those of her children. It is an example of the spiritual connotations, often abstruse and personal, which, under the impact of European symbolism in art, featured in some of the best sculpture of this period.²⁶

Also indicative of its artistic quality are the natural pose of the Queen and the arrangement of the large folds of material which are distinct to late 19th and early 20th century allegorical sculpture and sets this statue apart from the classical conventions of the Golden Jubilee style statues of Victoria. The niche, in which the monument stands and that directly behind the figure of the Queen, are coloured with blue mosaic, another a Renaissance link. It is these little touches that make it an original treatment of a traditional type, in which symbolist and decorative trends are tempered by a strong sense of the sculptured forms and the showmanship of the architecture is balanced by the quiet dignity of Victoria. The base too adds to the effect, being lower than usual and allowing a closer interaction between Queen and subjects than can be experienced with earlier monuments raised on their high pedestals. Easier accessibility to public monuments and the creation of an environment and ambience conducive to lengthy contemplation of the person and values displayed, is a feature of later memorials to Queen Victoria like this.²⁷

²⁶ *Saturday Review*, 11 May 1901, p. 600.

²⁷ *Studio*, LXVI, 1916, pp. 18-28.

The 1905 Queen Victoria memorial at Nottingham is another special memorial to Victoria's reign. This marble statue is regal and imposing, and later versions of it can be found elsewhere in the United Kingdom at Leamington - in marble, and at South Shields - in bronze. The bas-reliefs on the sides of pedestal of the Nottingham memorial: 'Feeding the Hungry' and 'Clothing the Poor,' were not copied by the other two. These panels are unconventional in not being self-contained scenes but instead a package of figures that look outward from the panels on the base and lead the viewer around the monument. The figures in the panels are composed with strong vertical lines in their dress and are almost too tall for their frames. The effect is that the viewers eyes are led up to the statue of the Queen and thereby relating her to what is displayed below and encouraging the spectator to make the connection and contemplate Victoria's acts of mercy and charity. The severe monumentality of these two panels, located either side of the monument, contrast with the rich decoration of the front and back panels.

A back panel represents Maternity, just like in the Manchester monument, with a female figure holding an infant in each arm. However, the imagery in this Nottingham monument is more complex. One child is holding a toy ship, the other a toy engine, suggesting the promise of progress and prosperity based on the technological leaps made during Victoria's reign. The mother figure has a combination of thistle and shamrock at her feet, from which grows a rose tree which frames the group. On the branches of the rose tree and around the heads of the mother and children, are bird nests and baby birds. In artistic terms such a natural scene alludes to the virtue of giving without any thought of reward. A reviewer of the monument in the *Building News* saw a deep Christian meaning in this particular group, along with the obvious maternal connotations. The mother figure is in the shape of the cross and wearing a stole - the symbol of duty and loyalty to Christ. The form and detailing of the dress worn by the figures performing acts of charity on the side panels

also looks very much like ecclesiastical vestments.²⁸ The impact of the whole is to evoke an image of Queen Victoria as a Christian Queen, benign and compassionate and personification of a benevolent maternal reign that fostered material and humanitarian progress.

The imperial theme was prominent in the Diamond Jubilee monument at Ottawa, unveiled in 1901, consisting of a bronze statue of Queen Victoria holding a scroll inscribed 'Constitutional Liberty' surmounting a pedestal and base which is broken into a series of stepped plinths.²⁹ A guardian British lion mounts the steps on one side, its paw resting on a staff and flag. On the other side lie fasces, a maple branch and a female figure representing Canada laying a wreath at Victoria's feet. A shield bearing the arms of the Dominion is on the pedestal on which Canada stands. It is the lion, though, that is the main point of focus that leads our eyes onwards and upwards to Victoria. Another monument, unveiled at Newbury in England in 1903, also makes use of the British lion theme. It comprises a central pedestal with a statue of Queen Victoria resting on a larger base. At the base there are four large recumbent lions at the Queen's feet. Resting, alert and facing directly out at the viewer they communicate quite clearly the prospect of menace if anyone should attempt to cause her harm.³⁰

In great contrast to these, very imperial statues, are other very different monuments. One unveiled at Nice in 1912 features four young women in contemporary dress gathering and offering flowers to the Queen. The Queen is not raised on a lofty pedestal, or seated on a throne but instead is resting on an outcrop of natural looking rock where she collects her admirers posies and places them in her lap. This intimate Rococo arrangement where the base and figures are fully integrated reflects the informal side of Victoria's life. The statue

²⁸ *Building News*, 22 September 1905, p. 397.

²⁹ *Ottawa Journal*, 12 November 1901, p. 3.

³⁰ *Newbury Weekly News*, 16 March 1903, p. 6.

at the Royal Victoria Hospital Montreal, mentioned earlier, similarly shows her in an informal pose and not represented as Queen or Empress. There are no overt symbols on the Queen Victoria Hospital statue in Montreal of her status, no crown, orb or sceptre and although she wears the Garter riband, the star of the order is mostly hidden by falling drapery while her robe hangs over a simple upholstered chair. Victoria is depicted simply as a figure of charity seeking to express her interest in the medical profession and her deep sympathy for the sick. The Queen is shown with her right arm around a child representing Medicine who rests his head on her lap, while another child representing Surgery, with his arm in a sling, sits at her feet. The use of children also reinforces the image of compassionate matriarch. Figures representing Charity and Motherhood were very common in this period and many were included as accessory figures on other monuments to Victoria. However, these were always allegorical representations and the Royal Victoria Hospital monument in Montreal is unusual for its specific depiction of Victoria directly as the figure of Charity.

The Diamond Jubilee monument unveiled in Dundee on 26 August 1899 is another on this theme in emphasising Victoria's perceived compassion for the poor. In this case it is the subject of a bronze relief at the base of the statue which depicts her visiting a widow and her family in a humble cottage and just in case you missed the message, placed next to it is the figure of Charity. This type of visiting scene is one of a type that was repeated in articles, illustrations throughout her reign and especially prevalent in the obituaries of the Queen published in 1901. It is the first part of a collection of scenes on this monument. The next scene shows Victoria and Albert visiting Dundee in 1844, followed by a figure representing the Textiles Industry. After that is a panel showing the Queen decorating Crimean War veterans, followed by a figure representing Legislation. Finally, we are back to the front of the monument and the beginning of the story with a panel showing Victoria and Albert getting married, which is accompanied by a figure representing the Colonies.

This monument is one of only a few to incorporate the narrative of Victoria's life as well as being symbolic.

The narrative was all in the face and body of Victoria herself when it came to the most original statue from this period, the one inaugurated at Tynemouth in 1902. The overall setting of this seated figure of the Queen, with a Renaissance style throne, wreathed escutcheons and an arch behind her head, is all too familiar. It is the naturalistic portrait of Victoria as a frail, old woman that is distinctive. There is no attempt to idealise her sagging and careworn features, or to disguise her small and fat frame, bowed down by the years and personal sorrows. Victoria is portrayed as those close to her actually saw her each day - as an old, dignified and determined woman. It is still a monumental figure but this time one that is rooted in actuality and without the contrived interests. It is a figure unique among the Diamond Jubilee and memorial statues of Victoria. All the others fit into either of two categories. There are those that portray Victoria as a mother figure and those that portray her as the regal personification of the strength and magnitude of Britain and its empire. The Tynemouth statue just gives Victoria, to make our own minds up about.

The overall effect of the plethora of monuments to Victoria was more than the sum of its individual parts. Each monument, in concert with all the others across Britain and the empire, added up to a tangible set of symbols and markers representing British values. They were capable of representing many different things to many different people but at their core were two main themes. The first, was that this collection of statues represented the institution of monarchy itself, stretching back over centuries and perceived to be a social stabiliser and anchor of constitutional fidelity. The second, was Queen Victoria - or at least an idealised representation of her - who served as a lesson to others of what could be wrought by simply being good. It was a common theme in newspapers, magazines and speeches that the renown and respect that Victoria generated by simply being a good Queen helped unite the distant peoples of her empire in a close communion around her.

This was very much an imagined community, to borrow Benedict Anderson's well-known phrase but it was necessary to sustain the mirage of imperial unity.³¹ Moreover, a specific and inaccurate image of Victoria figured in accepted political thought. Above the fray of party political intrigue and acting as a beneficent and revered mother and ruler, she embodied the communal values essential in linking the global colonial populations to the 'mother country.'

With each statue constructed from the Diamond Jubilee onwards, history, memory and identity were constantly being re-negotiated in an attempt to cultivate the domestic and the imperial public's identification with the idea of Victoria, Britain and British Empire as one heroic narrative. The personification of assumed national qualities was focused on the image of the dead monarch. The Queen Victoria meta-narrative, which reached its peak immediately after her death, reconciled social fragments through representations of order and harmony in an imagined community still protected by the memory of a benevolent Queen, now turned to bronze and stone.

Many theorists have noted that collective memory, group identity and social cohesion all require a symbolically loaded chronicle. A survey across several disciplines illustrates a convergence of ideas that is very helpful in understanding Victoria's preservation in bronze and stone. According to Susan Stanford Friedman, a professor of Women's Studies:

... identity is literally unthinkable without narrative...People know who they are through the stories they tell about themselves and others. As ever-changing phenomena, identities are themselves narratives of formation, sequences moving through space and time as they undergo development, evolution and revolution...narrative texts - whether verbal or visual, oral or written, fictional or

³¹ *The Times*, 1 June 1876, p. 5. See also: Kaul, *Media and the British Empire*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2006, pp. 86-9.

referential, imaginary or historical - constitute primary documents of cultural expressivity.³²

Such 'narrative poetics' influenced British and imperial identity in the last years of Victoria's reign and continued after her death through the stories communities and individuals told about her and her perceived values through their monuments to her. The narrative of the myth of Victoria was crucial in this period and even became spatially grounded and associated with the specific locales where her many statues were strategically placed. These spaces were imbued with historically produced cultural meanings—the genius loci, spirit of place. For the geographer, Doreen Massey, places become bonded to people by narratives: 'identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told about them, how these stories are told and which history turns out to be dominant.'³³ This can also relate to Fredric Jameson's usage of the political unconsciousness and how it is embedded in narrative as a socially symbolic act.³⁴ For the historian Raymond Williams such lived narratives, like the life of Victoria now turned to stone, engender 'structures of feeling' that bind people to their worlds by their grounding in place.³⁵ As Homi Bhabha's title, 'Nation and Narration,' implies, historical and mythic narratives provide a temporal template for national identities.³⁶ Several writers have recognized the power of myths, like that of Queen Victoria, a paradigm. According to Ronald Wright:

Most history, when it has been digested by people, becomes myth. Myth is an arrangement of the past, whether real or imagined, in patterns that resonate with a culture's deepest values and aspirations. Myths create and reinforce archetypes so

³² S. Friedman, *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1998, pp. 8-9.

³³ D. Massey, 'Places and their Past,' *History Workshop Journal*, 39(Spring) 1995, pp. 182-192.

³⁴ F. Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1981.

³⁵ D. Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, pp. 23-45.

³⁶ See: H.K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration*, Routledge, London, 1990.

taken for granted, so seemingly axiomatic, that they go unchallenged. Myths are so fraught with meaning that we live and die by them. They are the maps by which cultures navigate through time.³⁷

Bringing into being a combined British and imperial identity required the construction of a strange mixture of nationalist and imperialist narrative, which was translated into common stories that would resonate both at the centre and the periphery of nation and empire. Statues in general and those of Victoria in particular, were the perfect vehicle for accomplishing this.

According to the general principles of classical mnemonics the first step in the process is to imprint on the memory a series of loci as a 'mnemonic place system' to facilitate mental recall.³⁸ To this end, the complex reality of Britain and empire could be rendered in 'singular histories', in this case monuments of Queen Victoria, that serve as symbolic shorthand for its values.³⁹ Such monuments take their place along with many others like grave stones, historical sites, names, even religious relics, as markers and reminders of just who we are and what values we hold important.⁴⁰

The link between place and self can be profound and can also apply to groups of selves and their collective identities. In particular, the material rendering of social memory in a regal statue of Victoria mythologized the landscape transforming it from a simple statue of the Queen to be engaged visually, to a mental terrain of internalized symbolic meaning. To Simon Schama:

³⁷ R. Wright, *Stolen Continents: The New World Through Indian Eyes Since 1492*, Viking, Toronto, 1991, p. 5.

³⁸ F.A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2001, p. 3.

³⁹ S. Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993, p. 5.

⁴⁰ R. Sack, *Homo Geographicus: A Framework for Action, Awareness, and Moral Concern*, Johns Hopkins, Baltimore, 1997, p. 135.

Landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock. ...Once a certain idea of landscape, a myth, a vision, establishes itself in an actual place, it has a peculiar way of muddling categories, of making metaphors more real than their referents; of becoming, in fact, part of the scenery.⁴¹

The stories and legends about Victoria, developed over her reign, were bound up with the places where they happened and conferred on those places special significance to those who admired her. Through them a bond was created between the Queen and her people that made them part of a national and imperial landscape. It is with the creation of such significant places that identity is also shaped. Monuments to Victoria, along with the stories that went with them, made a place British and advertised in themselves British values. During her life they stood for continuity and stability and after her death for a past golden age. Her time and these spaces inhabited by her image in bronze or stone were intended forever to be associated with both nationalist and imperialist narratives.⁴²

This, of course, raises the problem of just how entities as wide, complicated and problematic as Britain and its empire achieve that very deep association with landscape and stories that help create the same loyalty that underpins a single nation state?⁴³ As the most obvious occupants of national and imperial public spaces, statues of Queen Victoria and the psychological associations of an imagined homeland that went with them played a crucial role in the formation of British and colonial identity which had formerly relied on

⁴¹ S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, Knopff, New York, 1995, p. 61.

⁴² Newspaper in 1897 especially seemed to love the theme of a Victorian Golden Age under Victoria. It was often accompanied by a comparison with the perceived other Golden Age under Elizabeth I. See: *Morning Post*, 28 January 1897, p. 5 & *London Standard*, 17 June 1897, p. 7. & S. Daniels, *Fields of Vision*, 1993, p. 5.

⁴³ See: B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Verso, London, 1991.

notions of rights, the reality – as Jack Greene has pointed out – was quite different and far more restricted ‘homeland’ than people were led to believe.⁴⁴

Victoria’s monuments directed attention to a specific time of British ascendancy, but in doing so were part of a much longer Western tradition. From its classical origins, through the French Revolution and into the age of the nation-state, monumental public statuary in the Western world has constituted what Eric Hobsbawm has called, ‘an open-air museum of national history.’⁴⁵ For Christine Boyer, public spaces and public monuments of the nineteenth century city constituted a memory system ‘transcribed in stone.’ Speaking specifically of monuments to the Queen she notes:

Historical monuments and civic spaces in the later stages of Victoria’s reign were seen as didactic artefacts and treated with reverence. Her statues were seen as ornaments; jewels of British and Imperial cities to be placed in scenographic positions and iconographically composed to civilize and concentrate the thoughts, the aesthetic tastes and the morals of aspiring urban and colonial elites. This was an architecture of ceremonial power whose statues of Queen Victoria spoke of an exemplary life, national unity and imperial glory.⁴⁶

The many monuments to Victoria are not about her death, nor are they wholly about her life. Rooted in the Latin *monere*, which means to remind or admonish, such monuments are not necessarily wholly about remembering, either. They can also be about allowing people to forget. Much like filing away a document, erecting a monument can reinforce the illusion that the memories associated with it can be retrieved when needed at a later date.

⁴⁴ J.P. Greene, *Exclusionary Empire*, Cambridge, 2009.

⁴⁵ E. Hobsbawm, ‘Foreword’ to Dawn Ades et al., *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930-45*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1995, p. 13.

⁴⁶ M.C. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory. Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*, MIT Press, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 33-34.

The very process of deciding how an event should be remembered allows reconciliation with the person or event and in doing so frees history to move forward. Ultimately, the monuments to Queen Victoria are as much about resolution as remembering, their completion an outward sign that finally all has been said and done.

Some monuments to Victoria were accompanied by simple formula texts, at times creating a distance between the observed and the observer by being in Latin but most rely simply upon the depiction of her human form - colossal dignified - to render abstract principles into allegorical allusion. For instance, the Diamond Jubilee statue in Ottawa unveiled in 1901 carries at its base the inscription: 'Victoria R.I. ob secundum regni jubiloem hoc monumentum erexerunt liberi et gratis canadenses' which simply translates to 'Victoria R.I. This monument was erected for the realm of free Canadians in honour of the Jubilee.' Latinising such a simple and prosaic message seems excessively formal and excluding.⁴⁷ According to Wolfgang Braunfels, 'One cannot build for strangers; history cannot be planned in advance; what is necessary needs aesthetic exaggeration.'⁴⁸ To this end, there were certain requirements for the success of any public statue as a didactic public sculpture. Tamm set down what he considered to be the important criteria: rigour and clarity; symbolism rather than utility; impressive to the eye; and built to last. A monument must have one purpose and one purpose only, constructed around one binding message that is aimed at the group rather than the individual.⁴⁹

Victoria's monuments well met the Tamm criteria and in doing so we can see they were meant to be consensus builders. They were community focal points for identifying with a visual chronicle rendered with aesthetic symbolism. A well placed and well constructed statue of Queen Victoria, therefore, was at its highest level, an allegorical statement of

⁴⁷ *Morning Citizen*, 23 September 1901, p. 1.

⁴⁸ W. Braunfels, *Urban Design in Western Europe: Regime Architecture, 900-1900*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1988, p. 371.

⁴⁹ B. Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1979, p. 236.

national and imperial narrative.⁵⁰ This was particularly true of her larger public statuary. As royalty, she was presented in regal poses with an array of predictable accoutrements—and always recognizable visage. Nearly always located in geographical centres of power, in cities across Britain and the empire, they were also carefully sited to underscore the symbolic role of particular places, especially centres of imperial power. Statues of Queen Victoria stood in government precincts from Empress' Statue Square in Hong Kong, to Macquarie Street in Sydney and on to Victoria Square in Christchurch.

The well known theorist Henri Lefebvre warns that representational spaces like these - monumental space in particular - constitute a deceptive and complex *trompe-l'oeil* that cannot be approached by semiological and symbolic interpretation alone, and are the product of extensive webs of meaning.⁵¹ Indeed, it is the nature of the public reaction to monuments that determines whether or not they serve as passive visual statements contributing to social cohesion, or as active elements in a public discourse. Elite groups have always sought to organize public spaces to communicate to the public particular kinds of national consciousness, a conformity to a particular public order. Often, as in the case of the many statues of Victoria, it nurtures a patriotism that is akin to a civil state religion. Sometimes it is marked by an alliance between church and state, in which capitals, cemeteries, national monuments, cenotaphs are formally regarded as sacred spaces. This will be discussed further in the final chapter of this thesis in regard to the debate over just how the Imperial Monument to Victoria, in London, was to be treated by the public. Sanford Levinson argues, anyone can play the 'identity politics' game and 'there is rarely a placid consensus' upon which the state may build. He goes on to point out, 'a sometimes bitter reality about life within truly multicultural societies is that the very notion of a

⁵⁰ J.A. Leith, *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France 1789-1799*, McGill-Queen's Press, Kingston, 1990.

⁵¹ H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1991, p. 143.

unified public space is up for grabs,' each group having its own lists of heroes and villains.⁵²

Today, many of the sites of Queen Victoria monuments have ceased to be places of consensus building and the monuments and statuary are now contested terrains, sites of contestation between the laws of physics, social change and human psychology. In the places where most of the statues still stand in their original, or near original settings: Britain, Australia and Canada, they have lost contemporary relevance to the people who pass them daily. Simply put, they did what they were constructed to do, but they have lasted too long into a time where their meaning has been lost or changed. As Kirk Savage puts it, monuments, like the many statues of Queen Victoria found around the world, are problematic because they were built out of long lasting materials and in such a way as to give a public impression that they would last for eternity. Their locations were supposed to be fixed and set to be a part of each landscape forever. Significantly, few in India remain in their original locations and none in Ireland.⁵³ Their presence in these locations has become the opposite of consensus building and they were confronting to people's new values and beliefs.⁵⁴

Attempts to encapsulate official versions of Queen Victoria in official statues often generated controversy because what was being argued was history itself. Each finished monument representing the majority opinion in a particular place about how she should be remembered.⁵⁵ The process was strikingly similar no matter what the year or the site. First, overwhelming consensus that Victoria should be commemorated followed by criticism of

⁵² S. Levinson, *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1998, p. 10.

⁵³ For a list of the many statues in India that have been removed or relocated see: M.A. Steggles, *Statues of the Raj*, British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia, 2000.

⁵⁴ K. Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1997, p. 65.

⁵⁵ S. Levinson, *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1998, p. 7.

the bureaucracies charged with selecting the design and of the sculptors commissioned to realise it; interminable public discussion and argument follows, sometimes acrimonious; the memorial design is dissected, reconfigured, tweaked, adjusted and somehow, miraculously, built.⁵⁶ On the dedication day, or sometimes a few weeks later, any controversy is tamped and the monument accepted. Whether or not the public agrees with the aesthetics of the commemoration, the vast majority accept the Queen Victoria narrative that goes with it as the way things were. Over time, the statue fades into the fabric of the landscape, until one day it disappears and no one sees it anymore. It might be that the final product that we are left with today is only a marker of its own history and the process that brought it into being.

The Committee of the Royal Dublin Society that planned and executed a statue to record Victoria's visit to the city in 1900 must have known that, because of the political situation in Ireland at the time, it was going to be a problematic monument. They had previously proposed erecting a statue of Queen Victoria in commemoration of the Diamond Jubilee, towards which members were invited to subscribe £1 each.⁵⁷ That scheme did not succeed but, so after the Queen's visit in 1900, the Society became the prime mover again in a project for a public monument to which all of Dublin would be invited to subscribe.⁵⁸ To placate anti-British feeling the commemorative scheme was to have a dual purpose as a tribute to the Queen and as a monument to the heroism and courage of Irish soldiers fighting in the Boer War.

Victoria's death early in 1901 shifted the emphasis of the statue again, as with so many others, to also being a memorial work to her. Towards the end of 1902, after raising sufficient funds, the committee chose a design and had the statue constructed. The work

⁵⁶ V. Acconci, 'Public Space in a Private Time' in W. J. T. Mitchell (ed.), *Art and the Public Sphere*, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1990.

⁵⁷ *The Times*, 16 April 1900, p.5

⁵⁸ *The Times*, 6 November 1900, p.11.

was done in France and not Britain, possibly because of the pressure already on British foundries for other statues of Victoria, but also no doubt because a French product would be considered more palatable to the general population.⁵⁹ When it was unveiled on Leinster Lawn in February 1908, contemporary photographs show that it comprised an enthroned neo-Baroque bronze figure of Victoria surmounting a tall pedestal. Additional bronze figures were placed in the inner angles of the pedestal. On one side a figure of Erin holding a lyre presented a laurel crown to a wounded Irish soldier, on the other, a female figure with a cornucopia and a labourer with a hammer represented industry and peace. At the back was a winged and laurel-crowned figure of Fame with a trumpet on his knees. Above all these, the considerably larger figure of Victoria leant forward benevolently, in expression of her interest and concern during peace and war in the welfare of her subjects.

It was not popular from the beginning and as the political situation in Ireland deteriorated even further in the following years it became even less so. To James Joyce and many others it was simply 'The Auld Bitch.'⁶⁰ However, the statue stayed in its location, unharmed, even after Leinster House became the home of the independent Irish parliament. Already by the 1930s she had outstayed her welcome and there was agitation for her removal. To one Irish newspaper columnist:

It is time for the cursed monument to go. Leinster Square and the capital of a new Ireland is no place for a British monarch to be. We are a new country with, one hopes, a bright future ahead of us and yet every time we pass that woman we must be reminded of the people who erected it. They are not worth remembering and that statue must go with them. Send it home, bury it, sell it for scrap, we don't care. Just get rid of it from our streets.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Architect*, 14 November 1902, p.320.

⁶⁰ *Country Life*, 23 May 1974, p.1305.

⁶¹ *Irish Independent*, 17 February 1931, p.6.

It was not until the late 1940s that Victoria was finally dismantled and dumped at Kilmainham, well away from Dublin. When new construction was planned at the hospital grounds where the statue lay in 1950 it was again moved and left to its fate on a rural farm still further from the Irish capital.

In 1985 a Sydney architect in charge of the restoration of an iconic Victorian shopping centre in Sydney went searching around the world for a suitable statue of Queen Victoria simply as decoration for the building. It is telling that he first travelled around India and Pakistan and found a number of statues but because of neglect none were in a fit condition for purchase and use. He was then given information about a Dublin statue languishing in the Irish countryside and approached the Irish government to purchase it. They agreed to send it to Sydney, not as a sale item but on a permanent loan basis to celebrate Australia's Bicentenary in 1988. The fully restored statue of Victoria had its second unveiling on 20 December 1987 and now sits on the corner of George Street and Park Street in Sydney, opposite the Sydney Town Hall, where in its second life it is a nostalgic period piece, a photo-stop for tourists, for the most part disinterested in its controversial past.⁶²

⁶² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 April 1988, p.7.

10. Keeping Minutes and Losing Hours

Between 1897 and 1901 there were at least thirty statues of Victoria erected or planned for erection across Britain.¹ Many, even earlier statues, had been inaugurated to mark local events, including visits by the Queen to places across the British Isles. The Diamond Jubilee was marked in many communities by a statue of her and many many more inaugurated in the wake of her death. As with other commemorative efforts, so with memorials to Queen Victoria, it was the official classes at the local or city level who initiated projects. Who were these people and what were their motives?

They were, as Paul Pickering has pointed out, quite often not - as had been the case in the past - the very elite of Victorian society.² On the local level, it was the mayor who usually called a memorial meeting and invited clergy, businessmen, local aristocrats, doctors and town officials. A group of these men then formed a committee and took on the responsibility for fund-raising and commissioning a statue.³ Because of its much grander scale and location, the committee responsible for the Imperial Memorial in London was exceptional in being drawn completely from the very upper echelons of British society. It was presided over by the 3rd Marquis of Salisbury and included the Lord Mayor of London and Lord Esher, Secretary of the Office of Works.

It was middle class men, however, that filled most of the positions on the average memorial committee. It seems logical that their involvement stemmed from various areas: experience at raising money, local political influence, the need to promote a public position

¹ *Manchester Times*, 11 November 1899, p. 3 & *Architecture*, 1 July 1900, p. 12.

² P.A. Pickering & A. Tyrrell, *Contested Sites*, 2004.

³ E. S. Darby, *Statues of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert*, PhD Thesis, University of London, 1983, p. 199. Some wealthy individuals still paid wholly for statues and monuments, but these were not for private consumption but given as gifts to towns and cities. For example, the statue of Queen Victoria in Newcastle was the gift of Sir W. H. Stephenson, an Alderman who wished to mark Newcastle's 500th anniversary.

and attachment to the middle class values that a statue of Victoria represented. These men were more often than not already involved in local politics and had an investment in their community's status. It was rare to find a committee that did not include the incumbent Mayor and the Town Clerk. However, when it came to contributing money to projects middle class women could also participate, as this acknowledgement from the *Adelaide Advertiser* in 1901 illustrates: 'At a meeting of the Queen Victoria Memorial Committee today, four donations' of £1,000 were announced, namely, Dr. C.A. Mackellar, Miss Harris, of Little Bridge, the Hon. H. E. Kater and Dr. E. Fraser.'⁴ Subscription lists across the empire tell a similar story.

Monuments, as has already been established, served many purposes for the people who built them and for society at large. The memorials constructed after Victoria's death were responses to grief at the loss of a well loved and popular public figure. When she died, the widespread feelings of loss translated into a desire to mark her passing in both public and private ways. One advocate for the monument in Southport, Mr Lewis James, for example, likened his wish to commemorate the Queen to the general desire to 'enshrine the dear dead in private life ... so in the case of a Queen like Victoria.'⁵ Memorials were conceived in this period as vessels for the sorrow of the Queen's subjects. In Carlisle, the town council's proposal was that 'something should be done now...to carry down to posterity in a visible manner this sense of the great loss which the nation and ourselves have sustained.'⁶ After Victoria's death the mayor of Southport believed that the townspeople wished for a statue to give 'tangible shape to the affection and regard in which Her Majesty was held by all townspeople.'⁷ (Figure 33.)

⁴ *Adelaide Advertiser*, 24 April 1901, p. 6 & *Register*, 2 March 1901, p. 8.

⁵ *Southport Visitor*, 25 May 1901, p. 3 See also: *Southport Guardian*, 27 May 1901, p. 5.

⁶ *Carlisle Journal*, 15 February 1901, p. 6. See also: *Carlisle Express and Examiner*, 13 February 1901, p. 4.

⁷ SLC: S718 TAY. Notice of Meeting, 20 May 1901, Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book, Southport, 1901, Southport Library Collection.



Figure 33. 'Queen Victoria,' Southport. Photograph Ed O'Keeffe with permission.

The men and the few women who planned memorials were also concerned with expressing national and civic identity. The allegorical figure of Britannia was often represented in peripheral architectural ornament but she was only very occasionally the subject of freestanding statues.⁸ Victoria, on the other hand, was everywhere, closely associated with British values and with the unity and importance of the empire. A statue of Victoria stood not just for England itself but also for a connection to the recent past of Victorian achievement and stability.

By building statues to Victoria, in small towns and large cities, across Britain and the empire, were representing themselves as socially cohesive, important and loyal. In London, one advocate claimed that Victoria's many monuments would 'testify to their children and their children's children the loyalty, the admiration and the love which they of the present

⁸ *Art Journal*, 23 March 1879, pp. 126-127. See also: M. Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2010, pp. 45-49.

day regarded Queen Victoria.⁹ The Duke of Devonshire, speaking at a Westminster memorial meeting, spoke in support of the Imperial Memorial stating:

... that the memorial would remind the future not only of who the Queen was but of what she was to her people, of the pride which we felt in her reign, of the gratitude and thankfulness which we felt for the progress and prosperity which attended that reign and of the affection which her people bore to her person.¹⁰

As we have seen, this desire to have Victoria's memorials tell something about the people who erected them was reflected in the efforts of memorial builders to involve as many people as possible in each project. For the organisers of commemorative efforts it was very important that their projects appeared to be memorials for the whole community, whether national or local. In London, the Chairman of the Stock Exchange argued that the national memorial must be 'truly national - not expressive of the gratitude of courtiers of any class or section but of the feelings of all classes of all her late Majesty's subjects.'¹¹ This requirement was often held up as one reason why statues or architectural monuments were better memorials than philanthropic plans that were often discounted as being too narrow in their focus. In Southport, a speaker at a memorial meeting asserted that 'it should be the sine qua non that the memorial should represent all classes of the community and not a local charity or a local fund for a certain class that did not represent all.'¹² In London *The Times* argued 'the masses' wanted most of all monuments to honour the Queen and not to serve any other ancillary purpose: 'They will wish that the memorial shall be a memorial of their love and loyalty and nothing more.'¹³

⁹ *The Times*, 8 March 1901, p. 8. See also: *Northampton Mercury*, 6 September 1901.

¹⁰ Quoted in detail in: *The Times*, 27 April 1901, p. 10. See also: *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 29 April 1901, p. 4.

¹¹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 26 March 1901, p. 11 & *The Times*, 27 March 1901, p. 8.

¹² SLC: S718 TAY. *Southport Visitor*, 25 May 1901 & 'Memorial Committee Meeting', 8 April 1902, *Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book*, Southport.

¹³ *The Times*, 28 February 1901, p. 9.

There were some who disagreed with this point of view and argued that utilitarian or charitable institutions set up in Victoria's name would better honour their compassionate Queen. In London, for instance, many argued that since the Queen's life had been marked by sympathy for her people the most appropriate way to commemorate her was with something that would benefit them materially. One correspondent to the *Pall Mall Gazette* suggested that the memorial should symbolise Victoria's 'intense sympathy for the suffering and her love for and interest in the people...of her empire.' To fulfill this goal, he proposed an empire-wide institute to care for ex-soldiers and sailors.¹⁴ Some went further and suggested that the most appropriate commemoration of the Queen was social reform. *Reynolds's News*, always the voice of change, wrote that the best way to remember Victoria would be by 'identifying her name with some great reform such as of the Poor Law system, the housing of the people, better education.'¹⁵ In some areas those who favoured utilitarian memorials prevailed.

If the statue builders tended to enshrine a regal image of the Queen, those who established charitable memorials tried to commemorate a vision of Victoria as the most compassionate of women. Many were devoted to one of the Victoria's interests, nursing. In Salford, a Royal Nurse's Home commemorating the Diamond Jubilee was opened in 1901. Those involved felt 'the idea quite in keeping with Her late Majesty's sympathies and desires.'¹⁶ Women, when they organised separately from men, often focussed their energies on this type of memorial. This had been the case in 1887 when a group of upper- and upper-middle class women organised the 'women's jubilee offering.' Although Victoria insisted that a portion of the funds collected be used to pay for a statue of Albert, the bulk went to

¹⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 June 1901, p.5. See also: *Telegraph*, 3 July 1901, p. 7.

¹⁵ *Reynolds's News*, 3 February 1901, p. 1.

¹⁶ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Courier*, 26 January 1901, p. 6. Also reported in: *Queen*, 9 February 1901, p. 233.

establish the Jubilee Institute for Nurses.¹⁷ After her death, women organised to establish a Women's National Memorial and again directed it towards the support of nursing. In doing so, the women involved expressed admiration for 'one who has done more than any other to uphold the beauty and dignity of Womanhood.'¹⁸ At the same time, these memorial projects fell in quite nicely with the sort of philanthropic work that middle class women were already committed to in late Victorian Britain.¹⁹

To the men responsible for the national memorial, as well as those involved with the many provincial plans, utilitarian memorials fell short of the objectives they wished their monuments to achieve. Not only did utilitarian memorials fail to speak for the whole community, they would not endure. Joseph Chamberlain, for one, warned that 'in pursuing a dual purpose' of philanthropy and commemoration, 'in time the commemorative purpose may be lost sight of.'²⁰ This argument was also made at a meeting to consider the Sheffield memorial. One speaker recalled that in Sheffield 'four places have already been linked with the name of Queen Victoria in the last fourteen years,' but only one 'retains its association.'²¹ Similarly, in Southport, a supporter of the plan to build a statue pointed out that in the case of utilitarian projects, the planners 'might never know what might happen to the institutions which they were erecting.'²²

The supporters of symbolic memorials highly valued durability because it was through monuments that they hoped to speak to future generations about themselves, Queen

¹⁷ *Leeds Times*, 4 June 1887, p. 8 & *Western Times*, 5 July 1887, p. 5. See also: J.L. Lant, *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1979, pp. 134-138 & 146-149.

¹⁸ *The Times*, 25 July 1901, p. 6 & *Reading Mercury*, 20 July 1901, p. 2.

¹⁹ Such work, however, had been a feature in England well before Victoria. A much earlier reference to such activities can be found in: 'On Philanthropy', *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 21 June 1821, p. 1 & F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1980, passim.

²⁰ *London Standard*, 27 March 1901, p. 6 & *The Times*, 27 March 1901, p. 8.

²¹ *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 20 April 1901, p.6 & *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 21 April 1901, p. 4.

²² *Southport Guardian*, 25 May 1901.

Victoria and their era. This was true of most, if not all, Victorian memorials but it was perhaps especially true of memorials to Victoria herself. In the words of A.J. Balfour, 'the only things that last, after all, were great structural monuments.'²³ As such, they offered to their planners a sense of continuity between past, present and future. Supporters of memorial plans envisioned monuments keeping the memory of Victoria alive long into the future. Present generations, it was often stated, did not need a memorial to remember the Queen. As one correspondent to a provincial paper, Alfred Calmour, wrote, their love for Victoria was an 'undying monument.'²⁴ It was instead for generations to come, their 'children and their children's children' that supporters of memorials like Hastings Miller who always ended his many letters to newspaper editors with: 'Hastings Miller, citizen and barber,' argued, firm in the belief that a 'visible monument of so much greatness and goodness should be erected and remain.'²⁵

Although it was often stated in unveiling speeches that the monuments to the dead Queen were not needed to remind the present generation of what their beloved Victoria looked like, they were still thought to be didactic. The monument builders wished to present Victoria as an example to be followed now and hopefully in the future. Monuments of public figures emphasised qualities, like heroism, charity and duty, valued by the community. Memorials to great men who embodied such community values, were thought to serve as examples and their statues as reminders to the general population of what was expected of them. Statues of Victoria were far more complex, standing for the usually masculine qualities as monarch but also qualities to be encouraged in the female citizens of Britain and the empire: womanliness, fecundity, motherliness and adherence to wifely duty. Many didactic biographies were published, especially for girls and young women, which

²³ *The Times*, 27 March 1901, p. 8 & *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 20 June 1901, p. 5.

²⁴ *Hastings and St Leonards Observer*, 31 August 1901, p. 6.

²⁵ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 9 March 1901, p. 17.

portrayed the Victoria as a worthy role model.²⁶ Supporters of memorials to Victoria like Canon Denton Thompson, for example, also thought that her virtue, duty and compassion would 'be an encouragement and incentive to people in general.'²⁷ Elite statue builders saw their works as especially valuable for the lower classes. In Sheffield where supplementary, idealised figures were included, the didactic purpose was thought especially important because, as one newspaper wrote, the statue would likely become a meeting place for 'street discussions...of the Sheffield workingman.' Ironically, they also later became sites of working class protest.²⁸

As visible reminders of Victoria's 'goodness,' some advocates believed statues to be important bulwarks in a time of change and declining moral rectitude.²⁹ In Southport, Denton Thompson warned that amid 'the stress and strain in the commercial world and the rush of social enjoyment, ... moral and spiritual ideals' might 'lose their rightful place in the history of the nation.' Were that to happen, he feared, 'the nation could do nothing but die.' Victoria had been the 'embodiment of all that was noblest, purest and best in human nature and most of all in womanhood.' He felt that if people had 'some local memorial to the Queen...it would be an encouragement and an incentive to the people in general.'³⁰ In the context of Southport's booming amusements industry, a statue of Victoria would remind people of moral purity and virtue.

²⁶ W. J. Wintle, *The Story of Victoria RI - Mother, Wife, Queen*, The Sunday School Union, London, 1897; D. M. Mulock Craik, *Fifty Golden Years*, Raphael Tuck And Sons, London, 1887; Mrs L. Valentine, *The Life of Victoria Our Queen and Empress: Simply Told For Children*, Fred Warne and Company, London, 1887; R. Horsely, *Victoria The Good Queen*, W. and R. Chambers, London, 1901; W. F. Aitken, *Victoria The Well Beloved*, S.W. Partridge, London, 1901.

²⁷ *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, 28 November 1901, p. 5 & *Southport Visitor*, 25 May 1901, p. 3.

²⁸ *Sheffield Weekly News*, 17 December 1904, p. 9 & *Hull Daily Mail*, 3 March 1912, p. 2.

²⁹ W.E. Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-70*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1963, pp. 317-319.

³⁰ *Southport Guardian*, 25 May 1901, p. 2 & *Southport Visitor*, 20 July 1901, p. 6.

Susan Beattie has pointed out that memorials were often highly charged symbols that evoked 'passions that were sometimes intense but seldom aesthetic.'³¹ This was certainly true of memorials to Victoria. Most memorial committees spent far more time and energy raising funds and choosing a location than discussing what the memorial would look like. The lack of interest by memorial committees in issues of aesthetics and design is reflected in the similarity of statues across the United Kingdom and the empire. As described earlier, in all but a few she is portrayed wearing the robes of state, crowned (or with the crown hovering over her head) and holding a sceptre and orb. In most she sits, although there are also several of her standing. In nearly all erected after 1887, she is portrayed in late-middle age.

The similarity in statues is not surprising, given that most public sculpture in the late-nineteenth century was the work of small circle of artists. About half of the commemorative statues of Victoria were by only four artists: F. J. Williamson, Thomas Brock, C. B. Birch and George Frampton. Few records of deliberations exist but it seems logical to conclude that the decisions of memorial committees were made with cost, convention and civic pride, all in mind. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a period of intense civic boosterism, as town and city leaders sought to enhance their communities' images with improvements such as libraries, art galleries and monuments.³² This trend did not tend to inspire great originality. P. J. Waller suggests 'Beauty was booked to order like merchandise and boasted of like credit in the bank.'³³ While this assessment is perhaps a bit harsh in the case of statues of Victoria, community leaders certainly put impressiveness, propriety and affordability ahead of originality.

³¹ S. Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1983, p. 201.

³² A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities: Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Middlesbrough, Melbourne, London*. Penguin, London, 1990.

³³ P. J. Waller, *Town, City, and Nation: England, 1850-1914*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983, p. 80.

Committees had various options in choosing a design for their statue. They could commission an original work, either from a particular sculptor or through a competition; they could order a copy of an existing monument; or they could buy a ready-made statue from a foundry. Although the last option had the advantages of the lowest cost and fastest speed, many towns chose to deal directly with the sculptor to acquire a higher quality product at a reasonable price. Some towns, such as South Shields and Sheffield, went through the time-consuming process of holding a competition sifting through up to, in Sheffield's case, eighty entries.³⁴ The theoretical advantage of such a process was that a town could avoid ending up with a statue which already stood in another locality and yet in the majority of cases where competitions were run the result was an order for a copy of an already existing statue, with only minor alterations. For many, this was not the determining factor; as already noted, half the statues raised in Victoria's memory were copies or versions of others produced by a group of only four artists.³⁵ At the outset, the committee in South Shields placed a premium on originality and specified that the submissions should not be copies. In the end, however, the committee chose a work by Albert Toft despite it having been previously executed.³⁶

What swayed the South Shields Committee to choose Toft's work is not recorded, nor are any other memorial committee's deliberations and debate, only the final decisions made and the costings were put on paper. The Sheffield Committee deferred to convention and to the advice of experts.³⁷ Unusual suggestions of individual committee members, such as the idea of one Sheffield man of mounting their statue on a twenty foot granite block representing stability, were not seriously considered.³⁸ Often committees sent delegates to

³⁴ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 25 October 1901, p. 8 & *Shields Daily Gazette*, 3 June 1901, p. 1.

³⁵ E. S. Darby, *Statues of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert*, PhD Thesis, University of London, 1983, p. 8.

³⁶ Queen Victoria Memorial Fund Committee Minutes, 8 February 1911, Newcastle, Tyne and Wear Archives Service, TWA: T179/472.

³⁷ *Shields Daily Gazette*, 1 June 1901, p. 1 & *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 25 October 1901, p. 8.

³⁸ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 1 May 1901, p. 5 & *Sheffield Weekly News*, 5 May 1901, p. 7.

find out who executed other towns' statues, or to visit well-known sculptors in their studios. The Carlisle Committee went directly to prominent sculptor Thomas Brock and found that a copy of the Hove statue could be purchased for fifteen-hundred pounds. When the delegates reported with approval that the statue was 'full of grace, dignity and majesty' and 'a good personal likeness,' the committee ordered a copy.³⁹

The National Memorial Committee, which will be discussed in more detail in the final section, was similarly concerned with convention when it came time to consider the design of their monument. Many art critics favoured an open competition for such an important commission but the committee instead selected the sculptor Thomas Brock. Brock was a logical choice since he had executed more statues of the Queen than any other living sculptor. He was also a conservative choice; one journal wrote of Brock - 'it can hardly be maintained that he is the leading genius of English sculpture.'⁴⁰ The committee was not too concerned with genius. Instead, just as provincial cities and towns wanted to know what sort of statues other cities and towns possessed, the National Committee wanted a statue that would compare well to those of other nations. They suggested to Brock that he travel abroad 'in order examine the great examples of monumental sculpture of Europe.' He declined, stating rather strangely that he feared that such a trip would leave him 'somewhat bewildered.'⁴¹

Memorial committees and the public generally expected monuments to be ideal representations, imposing enough to represent national and imperial ideals. Most sculptors fulfilled this expectation. The sculptor George Frampton explained to two delegates from the Southport memorial committee that 'his guiding thought was that a memorial of the statue of the Queen should be in a sense a symbol of her exalted position and of the

³⁹ *Carlisle Express and Examiner*, 11 February 1901, p. 2.

⁴⁰ The criticism came in the *Builder*, 13 April 1901, p.359. However, most articles were more kindly: *Evening News*, 5 April 1901, p. 5 & *Reading Mercury*, 13 April 1901, p. 4.

⁴¹ *British Architect*, 1 June 1911, p. 26 & *The Times*, 15 May 1911, p. 10.

greatness of the realm over which she ruled.' To further idealise her, Frampton, like all other sculptors, altered her physical proportions. While Victoria was famously short and round, the height of statues was anywhere from just under four metres to just under eight metres, whereas the girth was not increased to scale. As Frampton explained, 'the literal personal resemblance to the Queen, as concerns the proportions of the figure, was to some extent lost.'⁴² The Southport Memorial Committee specified that she be portrayed no older than she was at the time of her 1887 Jubilee.⁴³ The age probably appealed to memorial committees because she was maternal but not impaired by age as she was by the Diamond Jubilee of 1897.

Unlike the committees who hired them, the artists themselves were concerned with aesthetic currents. During the period when many statues of Victoria were being erected, many sculptors were attempting to reform their art. Reacting against an emphasis on faithful but stiff representations of the subject, sculptors began in the late 1880s to try a more expressive style of monument. These sculptors attempted to capture not only the physical appearance of the subject but the ideals they embodied. This 'New Sculpture' movement centred on the attempt to raise the 'spiritual and secret over the physical and mundane.'⁴⁴ One important practitioner of the new sculpture was Alfred Gilbert whose 1888 statue of Victoria was especially influential. Gilbert used his own mother for inspirations in order to get a 'more spiritual representation.'⁴⁵ He also included allegorical figures on the monument in order to represent important aspects of Victoria's personality and reign. He used elaborately draped robes of state and a large crown raised over the head of the Queen to make the statue more interesting as a sculpture rather than just a portrait.

⁴² SLC: S718 TAY. Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book, 12 February, Southport, 1903.

⁴³ *Southport Guardian*, 6 December 1901, p. 8. & SLC: S718 TAY. Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book, 12 February, Southport, 1903.

⁴⁴ *Art Union*, 17 September 1886, p. 23; *Academy*, 21 May 1889, p. 34 & *Art Journal*, 11 January 1900, pp. 73 & 116.

⁴⁵ *Manchester Evening News*, 20 June 1893, p. 3 & *Western Daily Express*, 17 March 1897, p. 3. See also: S. Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1983, p. 207.

The influence of Gilbert's Victoria can be seen in many monuments, including Brock's London memorial. Aspects of the New Sculpture found approval among those who advocated memorials. Monuments with simple allegorical figures were believed to speak an easily understandable visual language. Moreover, some commentators believed that the public appreciated the emotional expression in statues. *The Times* voiced the feeling of many memorial planners when it asserted that the people would prefer an artistic memorial that 'will appeal straight to the imagination and to the heart through the eye.'⁴⁶ While sculptors strove for more emotional impact, they and the committees still always chose representations of the Queen that were regal and impressive.

A sculptor who opted for greater realism risked public criticism. This was the case with the Manchester statue, already discussed in some detail in the previous section of this thesis. While most sculptors based their portraits of the Queen on photographs and drawings, Onslow Ford was able to do a study of Victoria from live sittings. The realism he strove for was praised by some art critics. The *Art Journal* wrote that he had captured 'a contemplative face, beset somewhat with care, weary a little with days of solitary rule.'⁴⁷ The *Manchester Evening News* noted that 'the artist has apparently, unlike other artists of to-day, sought the real rather than the ideal.'⁴⁸ Many people, however, found the statue offensive and complained that her face was 'too sombre, too weary looking.'⁴⁹ One correspondent to the *Manchester City News* wrote that, amongst the crowd at the unveiling, 'general disgust was the prevailing opinion,' and that some offered to 'subscribe ... to any fund for its early removal.'⁵⁰ Another, J.B. Greenwood, stated that he spoke for many inhabitants of Manchester when he voiced his own regret that the statue was not 'a pleasing portrait of

⁴⁶ *The Times*, 28 February 1901, p.8. An opinion also voiced strongly in: *Architectural Review*, July 1901, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁷ *Art Journal*, 1901, p. 178.

⁴⁸ *Manchester Evening News*, 10 October 1901.

⁴⁹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 23 October 1901, p. 2. See also: D. Brumhead and T. Wyke, *A Walk Round Manchester Statues*, Walkround, Manchester, 1990, p. 14.

⁵⁰ *Manchester City News*, 26 October 1901, p. 5 & *Manchester Guardian*, 27 October 1901, p. 7.

our good Queen at her best, in her fifth or sixth decade' but instead she was on display 'in a half comatose, superannuated posture, in her declining days.'⁵¹ (Figure 34.)



Figure 34. 'Queen Victoria,' Manchester, Picadilly Gardens, Manchester. Photograph David Lee with permission.

The presentation of Victoria as stern and weary ran counter both to what people thought statues should look like, and to the most common images of the Queen. The public was accustomed to visual representations of the Queen in the press and popular literature in which the lines of her face were softened and her expression gentle. Moreover, statues were expected to inspire rather than reflect reality. Ironically, Victoria herself was so pleased with a bust which Ford produced as a study for the statue that she ordered several copies as gifts for family members. Many more were produced for civic buildings, including Mansion House in London.⁵² Such busts might eventually be seen by many people but they rarely attracted as much attention as statues and monuments.

⁵¹ *Manchester City News*, 12 October 1901, p. 5.

⁵² *Athenaeum*, 23 March 1890, p. 226. See also: B. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982, p. 340.

The statue in Sheffield was more typical and was praised as a stimulus to moral striving. A poem written for the unveiling described the statue as a 'speechful model,' which would tell all those who viewed it, 'How widely Greater Britain's Queen made well / Her age resplendent.' For women, in particular, the poet suggested that the statue presented an ideal image:

So let our mothers see a woman wise,
Our city's wives, a wife of heavenly mould,
Include all womankind together see
Through her here imaged, a woman worthy
and a Sovereign virtuous.⁵³

The Sheffield memorial also included two secondary seated figures flanking Queen Victoria, a man representing labour with shirt open almost to the waist, wearing what appears to be a leather apron and with a large sledge hammer resting against his inner thigh, and a woman representing motherhood cuddling a baby in one arm and sheltering an older child under her cloak with the other (Figure 35). This female figure is unusual. When motherhood was included on other memorials and grave markers, she was usually depicted as a young woman but this woman is clearly middle aged. The male figure was intended to reflect the identity of Sheffield as an industrial city, while the second allegorically suggested Victoria's image, in common with the women of Sheffield, as a mother and carer. The two figures reveal the expectation that monuments also serve a didactic purpose. The *Sheffield Daily Gazette* praised the sculptor for representing ideal types which might inspire the working men and women, 'who rarely, if ever, possess the perfect physical development suggested here,' to aspire to such a high standard. Furthermore, the newspaper explained that the idealisation of the supplementary figures was appropriate since the Queen was

⁵³ *Sheffield Weekly News*, 13 May 1905, p. 8.

herself an ideal type: 'the noble personality of the late Queen Victoria who stood for all that was pure and good and for nothing that was mean or trivial, a pattern to all her people is worthily associated with the symbolic statuary below.'⁵⁴



Figure 35. 'Figure of a mother,' Statue of Queen Victoria, Endcliffe Park, Sheffield. Photograph David Lee with permission.

This representation of motherhood also reflected the ideals of the New Sculpture as artists sought to bring emotional qualities to public monuments. Unlike those of truth and justice, the figures representing motherhood derived less from classical sources than from sentimental art, especially the sculptures by Aime-Jules Dalou. Dalou was a Frenchman who worked in London in the 1870s and 1880s and was known for intimate domestic portraits.⁵⁵ The figures on Victoria memorials, as well as some of those on the Gladstone

⁵⁴ *Sheffield Daily Gazette*, 14 May 1905, p. 4 & *Sheffield Weekly News*, 17 December 1904, p. 9.

⁵⁵ *Quarterly Review*, 18 September 1902, pp. 115-117. See also: B. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982, pp. 302-303.

memorial, brought sentimental domestic images to public works of art. They also reflected cultural anxiety about the quality of motherhood raised during the South African War.⁵⁶ After her death it was hoped that the Queen's example of motherhood might serve to inspire women to follow her model.

Secondary, allegorical figures or friezes were common on nineteenth-century monuments. Most often, these figures were intended to represent aspects of the subject's character and life history. The Albert Memorial, completed in 1875, is overloaded with allegorical figures that allude to Albert's connection with the Great Exhibition. Such allegorical figures were derived from a variety of sources. Classical mythology and contemporary sentimental art were common sources in the later years of the century. The national memorial to Gladstone in London, unveiled in 1902, contains sentimental groups of figures representing Courage and Aspiration, Education and Brotherhood. The use of allegorical figures was taken to its logical conclusion in the Shaftsbury memorial in Piccadilly Circus, in which the sculptor Alfred Gilbert used no portrait but only the figure of Eros to represent the philanthropic Earl.⁵⁷

Cost was a major impediment to the inclusion of allegorical figures on local memorials to Queen Victoria. Even friezes, a cheaper alternative, were often expensive. At the sculptor's urging, the Carlisle Victoria Memorial Committee, for example, raised an extra four hundred pounds to pay for friezes representing science and art, commerce, empire and education. Other, more prosperous cities, paid for extensive statuary. Like Sheffield, the committee in Leeds was able to include a male figure representing industry, as well as a female figure that carried a globe and a palm branch alluding to peace. Around the base of the Leeds statue were symbols of plenty and naval strength as well as the names of India,

⁵⁶ A. Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood,' *History Workshop Journal*, 5, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1978.

⁵⁷ *Western Daily Press*, 15 October 1902, p. 5. See also: S. Beattie, *The New Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1983, pp. 214-218.

Canada, Africa and Australia, all places with their own monuments, some of which will be discussed in the next section of this thesis.⁵⁸

The most extensive allegorical imagery on any memorial to Victoria was on the national memorial in London. The monument included features that the sculptor intended to represent Britain and the empire. Thomas Brock set the whole memorial on a platform surrounded by fountains, embellished with mermaids and tritons representing the 'maritime greatness of the empire.' To show the 'courage and wisdom of the people,' he placed figures over the fountains representing the Navy and Army on one side and Science and Art on the other. On each corner of the base, large bronze figures of Labour, Agriculture, Manufacture, Peace and Progress reclined on lions. Victoria occupies the central portion of monument. For the sides and back, Brock designed supplementary figures to represent 'those qualities which made our Queen so great and so beloved,' truth, justice and motherhood. Not surprisingly, he topped off the entire monument with a gold figure of 'Victory.'⁵⁹

Many of the allegorical figures used by Brock and others, such as those representing labour, peace and victory, were found, in some variation, on other statues and buildings. As has already been discussed with the Sheffield statue, his depiction of the figure of motherhood was less unusual. On the memorial to Victoria in London, motherhood also sits middle aged, breast feeding one infant with children at her knees in the capital, while in Manchester she stands with babies in her arms. In Nottingham there is a related figure, intended as charity, seen carrying two infants who in turn hold a small train and a small ship. Inscriptions sometimes reiterated the maternal image. Whereas the Sheffield memorial simply states 'In Memory of a Great Queen,' the one at Manchester carries an

⁵⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 3 July 1901, p. 6 & 13 July 1901, p.8. See also: E. S. Darby, *Statues of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert*, 1983, p.110.

⁵⁹ Notes: Queen Victoria Memorial Committee London, 4 July 1901, TNA: PRO WORK 19/52 & *The Times*, 15 May 1911, p. 10.

aply maternal quotation from Henry V: 'Let Me But Bear Your Love and I Will Bear Your Cares.'⁶⁰

The figures of motherhood, though middle aged, were still beautiful and nurturing women, in contrast to the representation of Victoria as very old and very regal. Both depictions were symbolic, representing two equally idealised components of Victoria's image. The enthroned Queen was after all, no more realistic than the figure of motherhood, as Victoria rarely appeared in state regalia. It is revealing that on public works in Britain the main figure never shows her in the domestic tableaux that were so common in advertising, magazines and biographies. There were alternatives to regal portrayals of the Queen. Victoria possessed a statue of herself sitting at a spinning wheel.⁶¹ In London, a statue at the Royal College of Physicians by F. W. Williamson depicts Victoria with handkerchief and fan. However, when copies were made, the handkerchief was replaced by a sceptre. The most striking alternative is a statue of the Queen that stands in the south of France where Victoria often vacationed. Unveiled in 1912, the statue shows her, dressed in the simple clothing she favoured in life, seated and receiving the tribute of a group of girls and young women.

That such a portrayal was executed in France, rather than Britain, suggests that no matter how much the British associated Victoria with motherhood, they still thought of her primarily as a Queen. The domestic image of Victoria was privately cherished by the English people but perhaps builders of memorials were hesitant to represent their communities through such an intimate image. Certainly, they wished to remember Victoria as a good woman but they also wanted to reflect an image of their town. They were not inclined to take risks. Statues of the regal Queen were seen as appropriate. Moreover, such

⁶⁰ *Manchester Guardian*, 21 December 1901, p. 2. See also: E. S. Darby, *Statues of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert*, 1983, p.163 & p. 251, B. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982, p. 118.

⁶¹ *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 11 August 1941, p. 2 & B. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982, p. 37.

a figure served to represent not only the person of Victoria but also her reign, a deferential society, the institution of the monarchy, Britain and the whole empire. In commercial representations the motherly image and the regal image were both common but when it came time to represent the body politic, the regal image dominated. Sculptors did try to invest statues with emotional qualities. That did not extend, however, to portraying Victoria as anything but larger and more regal than in life. The accepted way to suggest her maternal nature was through secondary allegorical figures and inscriptions, not through portrayals of a domestic Victoria which were so common in the popular media.

British advocates of the arts sometimes criticised memorial committees for their lack of concern over aesthetic considerations. Art critics found the planners' attitudes especially frustrating in the case of major memorials. When the Imperial Memorial Committee hired Thomas Brock, critics argued that art would have been better served by an open competition as would have been held in France 'where they better understand how to manage these matters.'⁶² None of the planning committees across Britain and the empire had been moved by such criticisms, and generally occupied themselves with other issues that reflected their hopes for what their memorials would communicate to the future about themselves and their communities.

The speed with which towns and cities across the world began planning their memorials to Victoria, after her sudden if not unexpected death, certainly reflects the impact of the event. However, it was also a result of the Victorian enthusiasm for monuments in general. Benedict Read describes the staggering proportions of the nineteenth-century phenomenon of building monuments to public figures including 'all types ... political, literary, industrial and generally beneficial, quite apart from royalty.'⁶³ This predilection for monument building, also was not solely a British phenomenon. Europe, especially France,

⁶² *Telegraph*, 8 March 1901, p. 3 & *Builder*, 13 May 1901, p. 359.

⁶³ B. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982, p. 85.

had 'statuomanie,' and the United States constructed thousands in the wake of the Civil War.⁶⁴ There has been some great work done in recent years looking at the surge in nineteenth and twentieth century memorialisation, especially in Britain and how it began in earnest in the early years of the nineteenth century in projects to commemorate the Napoleonic wars.⁶⁵ New forms of commemoration emerged and monuments became important public objects.⁶⁶

Two changes were especially significant. First, public patronage emerged as the primary way monuments were funded. Before the Napoleonic era, aristocratic individuals and families were the ones who usually commissioned statues and memorials. By the mid-nineteenth century, public bodies, often representative of the middle class, were the ones commissioning the bulk of sculpture.⁶⁷ Unlike continental governments, the British government did not often pay for memorials. In Britain, the government was usually prepared to sponsor efforts to build memorials but then usually asked the public to pay for them through voluntary subscriptions. As Paul Pickering and Alex Tyrrell point out, this support depended heavily on the political acceptability to the conservative elites that controlled British government in the Victorian era.⁶⁸

The shift in who paid for monuments was directly related to the second development, where monuments would be erected. Before the nineteenth century memorials were, not

⁶⁴ W. Cohen, 'Symbols of Power: Statues in Nineteenth Century Provincial France,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31, 1989, pp. 491-513; K. Savage, 'The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument,' in J.R. Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identities*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, pp. 127-149.

⁶⁵ A. Yarrington, *The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars*, Garland, New York, 1988. See also: B. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982, p. 87.

⁶⁶ P.A. Pickering & A. Tyrrell, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2004, pp. 1-24.

⁶⁷ R. Mace, *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1976, pp. 48-9.

⁶⁸ P.A. Pickering & A. Tyrrell, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2004, pp. 1-24 & A. Yarrington, *The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864*, Garland, New York, 1988, p.x.

surprisingly, usually situated in 'enclosed' spaces, such as gardens, chapels and houses frequented mainly by the aristocratic elite that had paid for them.⁶⁹ This was true not only for private, family memorials; even important dynastic memorials of the nation were situated inside Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral. The few statues placed in public places were usually connected to buildings and often set in high niches. It was only in the mid to late nineteenth century that monuments became commonly situated outside - in town and city squares, parks and in front of public buildings. The new locations of memorials also reflected changing uses of public space, as civic and national leaders invested in major and minor public works with national and local meanings. In two major instances, the creation of Trafalgar Square and the Victoria Memorial project on the Mall, the erectors created whole new public spaces around their commemorative projects.⁷⁰

Other factors also influenced the development of new kinds of monuments at this time. The early nineteenth century had, according to Linda Colley, seen the growth of a nationalist culture in Britain fostered by involvement in the Napoleonic wars.⁷¹ A key component of this nationalism was an increased focus on heroes as role models and bearers of national characteristics.⁷² By erecting statues of famous figures, the builders hoped to provide exemplary role models for the population. In the eyes of elites, this was increasingly important as more of the population enjoyed the rights of full citizenship. Monument building was also a key component in the construction of a national memory for Britain. That memory building did not, however, always go smoothly. In 1875, a large statue by Matthew Noble of the problematic historical figure Oliver Cromwell was erected

⁶⁹ *Architect*, 3 August 1889, pp. 4-5 & *Building News*, 12 May 1903, p. 13. See also: R. Mace, *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire*, 1976, p. 49.

⁷⁰ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 February 1865, p. 3 & *London Standard*, 19 November 1887, p. 5. See also: R. Mace, *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire*, 1976, p. 49.

⁷¹ L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, (2nd Edit.), Yale University Press, New Haven, 2005.

⁷² A. Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, 1988, passim; L. Colley, *Britons*, 2005, pp.177-193; W. E. Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1957, pp. 305-340, F. Inglis, *A Short History of Celebrity*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2010 & P.D. Marshall, *The Celebrity Culture Reader*, Routledge, London, 2006.

in Manchester outside the cathedral. A private gift to the city by Mrs Abel Heywood, the wife of a well known local radical politician and the sitting Mayor.⁷³ The gunmetal bronze statue was cast at Cox and Sons foundry at a cost, including the pedestal, of £1,600. At its base the inscription: 'OLIVER CROMWELL - BORN 1599 DIED 1658 - THE GIFT OF ELIZABETH SALISBURY HEYWOOD - TO THE CITIZENS OF MANCHESTER, AUGUST, 1875.'⁷⁴ It was the first such large-scale statue of Cromwell to be erected and was based on the painting by Peter Lely.⁷⁵ The statue was unpopular with the local Conservatives and with the large Irish immigrant population alike. When Queen Victoria was invited to open the new Manchester Town Hall, she is alleged to have agreed only to do so if the statue of Cromwell was removed. The town council not unsurprisingly refused and Victoria did not attend what became a very low key unveiling by the Mayor. During the 1890s plans to erect another statue of Cromwell outside Parliament buildings at Westminster caused outrage. Protests from Irish National MPs made sure that this one would not be publicly funded and eventually it fell to Lord Rosebery to privately pay for the project.⁷⁶

A number of historians have discussed how, as time seemed to speed up in industrialising societies, memory seemed to grow more tenuous.⁷⁷ Monuments, Kirk Savage argues, 'served to anchor collective remembering ... [and] embodied and legitimated the very notion of a common memory and by extension the notion of the people who possessed and rallied round such a memory.'⁷⁸ Monuments were not only national projects, as the

⁷³ For more on Heywood see: P.A. Pickering, *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1995, pp. 196-198.

⁷⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 2 December 1875, p.3 & *Manchester Evening News*, 25 November 1875, p. 3.

⁷⁵ *Manchester Times*, 27 November 1875, p.5 & *Manchester Evening News*, 26 November 1875, p. 4.

⁷⁶ *London Standard*, 29 June 1895, p. 1 & 'Statue of Oliver Cromwell,' BL: HC Deb 25 April 1899 vol 70 c 515. According to Paul Pickering, local opinion also attributes the Queen's decision not to unveil the statue to the fact that Heywood had spent time in prison for radical ideas.

⁷⁷ P. Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,' *Representations* 26, Spring 1989, pp. 725.

⁷⁸ K. Savage, 'The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument,' 1996, pp. 130-131.

empire grew they also became imperial projects. On the other hand, just as important as the increasing sense of national and imperial identity was a growing sense of local civic pride from residents of the growing provincial cities of Britain and the empire.

An excellent example is that of the industrial north of England where civic leaders in growing cities such as Manchester tried to express a sense of pride and identity in public works such as buildings, roadworks and public monuments.⁷⁹ This is reflected in the disproportionate number of statues in the north, especially in Lancashire and on Tyneside.⁸⁰ Enthusiasm for building monuments showed no sign of abating. Technical developments later in Victoria's reign made it easier to reproduce large statues and thus cheaper for towns to acquire them.⁸¹ As the century progressed sponsors of monuments turned increasingly to subjects other than military heroes and built memorials to civic leaders, men of letters, philanthropists and politicians. There were a large number of statues to men such as Gladstone and Robert Peel.⁸² Other than Queen Victoria, no one was commemorated as often as Albert.⁸³ After his death in 1860 there was wave of Prince Albert statues, encouraged in part by Victoria's own obsession with remembering her husband. Before Albert, Read notes, 'royal memorials were certainly known but they had been modest and infrequent.'⁸⁴ They were, as we have seen now in some detail, neither modest nor infrequent for his wife.

⁷⁹ A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities: Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Middlesbrough, Melbourne, London*, Penguin, London, 1990, pp. 88-138. A. Yarrington, *Commemoration of the Hero*, 1988, p.vi.

⁸⁰ C. Cunningham, *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*, Routledge, London, 1981, pp. 64-6. Over half the statues of Victoria erected after 1897 were in the North and Cunningham notes a similar impetus in Town Hall building.

⁸¹ *Architectural Review*, 11 July 1882, pp. 6-7 & *Art Journal*, 27 May 1896, p. 189.

⁸² P.A. Pickering & A. Tyrrell, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2004, pp. 1-24.

⁸³ E. S. Darby, *Statues of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert: A Study in Commemorative and Portrait Statuary*, Ph.D. dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1983, p. 9.

⁸⁴ B. Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1982, p. 95

The commemoration of Victoria was part of a complex continuum of monument raising as well as the response to specific circumstances. However, in their efforts at commemoration, civic leaders enshrined an image of the Queen as a regal and imposing figure or as a motherly one not because of any grand theory but simply because they thought at the time it was the appropriate thing to do. Monument planners, the sculptors they hired and the existing statues they copied did not invent the images; they simply copied and adapted ones that were already common in popular media. Victorian print media pictured the Queen as much in the domestic sphere as it did in the official sphere. Decades after her death, these images were not forgotten and were recorded on the most important monument of all in heart of London.

11. Nobody Ever Built a Statue to a Committee

It is usual to look at public art, like monuments to Queen Victoria, from an art history perspective alone. To simply measure their artistic merit and debate their purpose as a finished product. However, the sheer number of statues to Victoria gives us a chance to look differently, at the process as well as a product. Each work was an enormous undertaking, from the initial idea to the final unveiling. From the outset, before anything else, there had to be sufficient belief that Victoria was special enough to be commemorated. This should not be underestimated in its own importance and only after the idea came the action. A committee had to be formed, a site selected and funds gathered. Not necessarily in that order but the three components were always present. The selection of the right sculptor was a complex business, as can be seen from the previous section but there were any number of other decisions that also had to be made - from where it would be placed, to the composition of the pedestal. When all this was underway, plans then had to be made for the official unveiling. These were not simple matters when competing interests were at hand. In most cases it took years and much negotiation, from the initial idea of commissioning a public sculpture of the Queen to its final installation.

Choosing the design was nerve wracking and raising funds time consuming. Deciding where the memorial was going to be situated could be problematic. While, arranging the unveiling was a possible social nightmare with decisions to be made of whom to invite and where to sit them. However, each of these steps was important in shaping the monument's meaning. Committee members saw fundraising not only as a means to an end but as a process which would determine how representative the monument would be of the community. The location chosen, too, could say much about a town's character and intent, while the unveiling was a chance to herald the importance of the monument, the municipality and its leaders.

In Melbourne, a subscription for a memorial was launched towards the end of 1901 and a committee advertised for designs.¹ Twenty seven designs were submitted and these were displayed to the public in the Melbourne Town Hall during April and May 1903. The entries were not well received by some critics and even the specially appointed committee, consisting of three architects: P. Oakden, J.H. Marsden, P. Kerr, a sculptor D. Richardson and artist J. Ford Patterson, had its reservations about the quality of the submissions.² They came to a decision in June 1903 and the General Committee accepted a Special Committee's recommendation of a design submitted by the Australian sculptor James White. After some negotiation, White had offered to reduce the height of the monument to 36 feet (10.97 meters) to bring its costs within the sum in the committee's hands, £6,000.³ The completed monument was unveiled by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Madden, on 24 May 1907 at a final cost of £7,600.⁴ (Figure 36.)

Except in the rare cases where statues were given by wealthy benefactors, fundraising was a crucial and time-consuming stage in producing a public monument to the Queen and as can be seen from the Melbourne example it greatly affected just what sort of memorial the committee would be able to finally erect. It was also a task shaped by the goals of the builders. In trying to garner support and raise money, memorial advocates appealed to their fellow citizens' sense of civic pride. In an era of intense competition between municipalities, the implication behind many fundraising appeals was that the community risked falling in status in relation to its neighbours if a notable monument was not produced. Advocates in Southport in Merseyside were as eager as those in Melbourne in

¹ *Architect*, 20 December 1901, p. 7 & *The Times*, 8 February 1901, p. 6.

² *Argus*, 16 April 1903, p. 5; 17 April 1903, p. 5 & *Leader*, 2 May 1903, p. 24.

³ *Leader*, 13 June 1903, p.23; *Argus*, 8 May 1903, p. 4; 12 June 1903, p. 4. A picture of White's winning design is in the *Leader*, 20 June 1903, p. 36.

⁴ *Leader*, 1 June 1907, pp. 23-24; *Argus*, 25 May 1907, pp. 19-20.

Australia for their town to have its statue of Victoria. Lewis James, put forward that since Southport had only recently become a 'considerable town,' it had few opportunities to



Figure 36. 'Queen Victoria Memorial' Melbourne, Victoria, front view, granite and marble, commissioned by public subscription and positioned at the highest point of the gardens, unveiled 24 May 1907. Author's own photograph.

demonstrate its loyalty; building a statue to the Queen was, he suggested, a chance for the town to 'stand in the forefront of the kingdom.'⁵ Blackburn, on the other hand, already had 'made a good start with public memorials,' but the concern with public appearance remained. One newspaper warned that 'it would not be becoming' for their town 'to be without a statue of Victoria the Good' because in a 'few years statues of Victoria will be erected in all the cities and large towns.' (Figure 37.) While philanthropic proposals were

⁵ *Southport Visitor*, 25 May 1901, p. 4 & *Southport Guardian*, 24 May 1901, p. 5.

worthy endeavours, they could not match the value of a 'conspicuously placed' memorial as evidence of Blackburn's sense of loyalty, propriety and prosperity.⁶



Figure 37. 'Queen Victoria,' Blackburn, Lancashire, 1901. Photograph David Lee with permission.

Across the British world similar patterns were in evidence and there is no perceptible difference between what was happening in Britain, the British settled colonies and the crown colonies. Colonial monuments were very similar and at times identical to those in Britain. In Bangalore, for instance, initial plans for a Victoria memorial involved a statue in front of a new 'Victoria' Memorial Technical College but there were doubts whether sufficient funds could be raised to complete both projects.⁷ By October 1902 only Rs.

⁶ *Northern Daily Telegraph*, 31 March 1901, p. 2 & *Blackburn Times*, 23 March 1901, p. 5.

⁷ *Times of India*, 22 February 1902, p. 7 & *Indian Inspector*, 1 March 1902, p. 4.

10,000 had been collected for a statue but in what is a significant demonstration of David Cannadine's theory that the empire was not so much about 'race or colour' as about establishing or reaffirming your 'class and status,' a generous donation was made by Sir P.N. Krishna Murti, Dewar of Mysore, of Rs.15,000 that allowed the committee to order the work.⁸ The commission for a repetition of his Golden Jubilee statue of Worcester at a cost of Rs. 17,000 was given to Thomas Brock in the spring of 1903. This was significantly, in light of who had made the monument possible, to be placed on 'a pedestal of native workmanship,' and 'beneath a canopy,' although the canopy does not appear to have been completed.⁹ The statue arrived in Bangalore in early July 1905 and was unveiled by the Prince of Wales on 5 February 1906.¹⁰ The fact that Brock executed further versions of this statue for Belfast, Cape Town and Birmingham is yet further evidence of the homogeneity of this monument building process across the Britain and the empire.

In Britain, sometimes the interests of local memorial committees clashed with those of national memorial organisers who were soliciting donations across Britain and the empire for the major national and imperial memorial in London. In some towns and cities residents raised concerns that local resources would not stretch to both build a local statue and contribute to a national fund. Again, the issue of civic pride was raised. Some of Sheffield's wealthy inhabitants couched their decision to contribute only to the London memorial in terms of local pride. Frank Mappin, for instance, argued that only if the city focussed its 'loyal generosity' on the London memorial, would it express 'its rightful position as one of the chief places of the kingdom.'¹¹ One speaker, quoted in the *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, challenged this argument by asserting that although the memorial in London was important, 'Sheffield was a large place, a wealthy place and a patriotic place.'

⁸ *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 24 April 1903, p.13. See also: D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, pp. 174-178.

⁹ *Times of India*, 25 April 1903, p. 6 & *The Englishman*, 21 April 1903, p. 8.

¹⁰ *Statesman*, 7 June 1905, p. 3; *Times of India*, 3 June 1905, p.6 & 10 February 1906, p.2.

¹¹ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 16 April 1901, p. 4 & *Sheffield Weekly News*, 20 April 1901, p. 5.

Whether this convinced everyone is not clear. Many wealthy donors chose to give all or part of their donation to the national memorial and the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* suggested 'there is a pronounced feeling in favour of helping the great National Memorial.'¹²

Wealthy people were not the only potential donors courted by the local and national memorial committees. For memorial builders, shaping the meaning of a statue did not end with choosing a design; the process of fundraising was integral to the meaning of the memorial. Often committees expressed the view that support from all sections of society was necessary for the memorial to be a true token of the community's feelings. Although it was the official classes at the local or city level who initiated and carried out memorial projects, these officials made a great effort to encourage broad participation, at least when it came to paying for it. An excellent example is the Blackburn Memorial in Lancashire where the process can be followed in great detail through newspaper advertisements for donations, acknowledgements of donations and reports of committee meetings. The need for contributions from 'every level of society' is mentioned time after time and yet there is no mention of asking for any lower class contributions in the decision making.¹³ Committees often needed this participation to raise enough funds but they also desired it so that the statues would appear to be the product of social consensus. The participation the committees sought, however, was limited. Rarely did I find any evidence of committees soliciting working-class opinion about either the design or location of memorials.

One exception to this rule was industrial Sheffield, where a special effort was made to involve the working classes in extensively paying for the memorial project and because of this their representatives were necessarily included in the planning. The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* noted that 'the memorial cannot be honestly called a City Memorial if the work of

¹² *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 29 April 1901, p. 5 & *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 1 May 1901, p. 3.

¹³ See: *Blackburn Times*, *Blackburn Weekly Telegraph* & *Northern Daily Telegraph*: March, September, October, November, December 1903; September, October 1904 & October 1905. Also: *The Queen Victoria Memorial Fund List of Subscriptions 1901-1905*, Local Collection, Blackburn Libraries. The pattern was repeated across the British world.

giving is left to a few – the few who always give.’ The paper hoped, therefore, that the ‘monument will be welcomed as one for the multitude as well as for the restricted circles of moneyed people.’¹⁴ In order to broaden the base of support for the memorial, the Lord Mayor who acted as chairman of the memorial committee, suggested inviting the heads of Friendly Societies to join the committee. Another committee member suggested that Friendly Societies and Trade Unions could organise a parade to raise money from working men.¹⁵ This proposal was supported by many leaders of working-class organisations, especially a Mr T. Johnson of the Table and Butcher Blade Grinders Association who noted that ‘it has often been stated that there is a lack of loyalty on the part of the working classes.’ A parade, they hoped, would give working men a much desired ‘opportunity of paying a public tribute of respect for Victoria’s noble life and services as a Queen, a mother and a friend.’¹⁶

The parade was eventually held in July of that year and consisted of floats and delegations from the various trades and societies. But, marred by poor organisation, in the end the parade did not get the full support of either trade unions or the public. Some believed it was a misuse of energy that would have been better spent canvassing, while others complained that workers were already contributing through collections taken up on the shop floor.¹⁷ Whether the parade’s failure reflects lukewarm support for the memorial is hard to discern. Regardless, the press was eager to portray it as a display of working-class loyalty. One newspaper summarised the parade with a front page illustration of workmen laying tribute at the foot of a statue of the Queen.¹⁸ This illustration is consistent with so many others that continued the theme that the nation was one in its love for Victoria.

¹⁴ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 16 April 1901, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Sheffield Independent*, 16 April 1901, p. 2 & *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 12 April 1901, p. 5.

¹⁶ *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 3 August 1901, p. 10.

¹⁷ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 3 August 1901, p. 1.

¹⁸ *Sheffield Weekly News*, 27 July 1901, p. 1.

The South Shields Memorial Committee was another rare exception to the rule and because they also sought to involve a large section of the working class population in fundraising efforts needed to do things differently. The mayor of South Shields invited representatives of trade unions to a meeting to give their opinions on the best ways to raise funds for the memorial.¹⁹ Not surprisingly, they suggested that they be invited to join the main memorial committee and this was done.²⁰ The South Shields Memorial Committee also planned a parade to raise funds from working people.²¹ Like Sheffield, industry and labour were important to the identity of the port town of South Shields. In towns where this was not the case, little or no effort was made to involve the working class. In affluent Southport, for instance, the committee limited itself to distributing collection cards to the 'employers of labour.'²²

The colonial pattern was solidly in keeping with the process in Britain that saw local politicians and local government officials firmly in charge of producing a Victoria memorial without any significant working class participation. The memorial built in Brisbane is a case in point. Within a few days of Queen Victoria's death letters appeared in the *Brisbane Courier* suggesting various forms of memorial including an Anglican cathedral, a hospital, a square, an arch, a peel of bells and a statue.²³ The authorities were slow to act and it was not until 29 April and the impending visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (whom it was suggested might be invited to lay the foundation stone of such a memorial) that a public meeting was called by the Governor, Lord Lamington, and a committee set up.²⁴

¹⁹ TWA: T179/472, 16 May 1901, South Shields Memorial Fund Minute Book.

²⁰ TWA: T179/472, 9 July 1901, South Shields Memorial Fund Minute Book.

²¹ TWA: T179/472, 17 July 1901, South Shields Memorial Fund Minute Book.

²² SLC: S718 TAY. Financial Sub-committee Meeting, Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book, Southport, 16 September 1901.

²³ *Queenslander*, 30 January 1901, p. 3 & *Brisbane Courier*, 31 January 1901, p. 4.

²⁴ *Brisbane Courier*, 30 April 1901, p.4 & *Worker*, 28 April 1901, p. 2.

Subscriptions in Brisbane were not as forthcoming as anticipated, largely because of a drought and by April 1902 only £723 had been collected.²⁵ A carnival in the Botanic Gardens was hastily organized which raised a further £165 and the Women's Committee adopted a door to door canvas, eventually yielding another £225 19s. 8d. By September 1903 they had sufficient money for the committee to ask Lord Lamington, W. Knox Darcy, Frank Dicksee R.A. and Sir Horace Tozer to select a statue in London. In March 1904 this group sent photographs of figures by Brock, Thornycroft, Frampton and Wood to Brisbane.²⁶ However, even though they still sent it for consideration, the London advisers made it clear that they thought Thornycroft's statue of a youthful Queen was unsuitable for reproduction in bronze and for an outdoor setting. While they admired the 'bold and striking' treatment in Frampton's and Wood's statues, they did not think the portrait in either was 'a good likeness', so overall, they favoured a replica of Brock's statue at Hove. The Brisbane Committee agreed and Brock was commissioned to execute a thirteen feet (3.96 meters) bronze replica for £1,000. The sculptor had originally asked for £1,500 but was persuaded to reduce this as the other contenders were all asking £1,000. It was proposed to erect the statue on a pedestal, nineteen feet high (5.79 meters), at the junction of Edward and Turbot Streets.²⁷

Progress on the work was slow, partly because the committee neglected to send Brock his first installment of £500 until May and the sculptor was unwilling to start until this had been paid.²⁸ By February 1905 the figure was in the foundry but Brock was unable to give the committee a definite date for its completion because of pressure of other similar works. He also stated that two different heads ('both... most striking likenesses') were being

²⁵ *Charleville Times*, 19 March 1902, p. 2 & *Brisbane Courier*, 23 April 1902, p. 4.

²⁶ *Brisbane Courier*, 7 September 1903, p. 4 & *Queenslander*, 30 January 1903, p. 5.

²⁷ *Worker*, 28 April 1904, p. 4 & *Brisbane Courier*, 19 March 1904, p. 4.

²⁸ *Brisbane Courier*, 10 June 1904, p. 4 & *Morning Post*, 18 June 1904, p. 6.

cast and that he would dispatch whichever turned out better.²⁹ The statue was completed and Brock was paid in full by the end of the year. It was dispatched to Brisbane at the expense of the British India Company on board their ship S.S. Upada on 4 December 1905.³⁰ The committee met on 5 December 1905 to discuss the question of a pedestal. The estimated cost of a pedestal was £600, towards which the committee had £175, plus a further £100 promised by Brisbane City Council. The Premier, Arthur Morgan, suggested that if the statue was erected in the gardens attached to the Colonial Executive Buildings in Brisbane (now known as Queen's Gardens), then the government would contribute up to £300. This offer was accepted and the statue was erected on that site. Premier Morgan's thinking on this matter has not survived, however, it seems logical to assume that if the statue was located so as to adorn a government building then the government should be justified in some payment towards it.³¹ The government later accepted the tender of William Kitchen to supply and erect the pedestal for £576 and the complete memorial was unveiled by Lord Chelmsford on 23 June 1906.³²

Funding was a common issue, whether the monument was being built in a colonial or a British setting. Unlike Brisbane's mixed public and private solution, across the world in Cumbria, The Carlisle Committee avoided the issue entirely by paying for its monument out of city funds. One paper described this method as thoroughly inclusive, noting that 'all citizens have the satisfaction of knowing that they have contributed to this noble memorial.'³³ It is no coincidence that Carlisle, having chosen to build their memorial with city funds was able to complete the project in a little over a year while other cities took several years to do so. Despite appeals to the community and to local pride, some memorial

²⁹ *Queenslander*, 6 February 1905, p. 3 & *Brisbane Courier*, 4 February 1905, p. 4.

³⁰ *Worker*, 27 November 1905, p. 3; *Charleville Times*, 1 December 1905, p. 2 & *Brisbane Courier*, 2 December 1905, p. 4.

³¹ *Brisbane Courier*, 6 December 1905, p. 6.

³² *Queenslander*, 26 February 1906, p. 4, *Brisbane Courier*, 23 March 1906, p. 4 & *Builder*, 7 July 1906, p. 23.

³³ *Carlisle Express and Examiner*, 14 June 1902, p. 4.

committees encountered difficulties in raising sufficient funds. In South Shields, where the memorial plans were delayed for several years, a notice had to be circulated to remind those who had promised subscriptions to pay up. Still 'further appeals' were made to working men and collections were taken up in Sunday Schools before the memorial could finally be built. Even with these repeated appeals, the memorial committee only raised £900, falling short of its original goal of £1200.³⁴ Other towns raised larger amounts. In Southport they raised £2150 while Sheffield raised over £3000. Although Blackburn originally hoped to raise £10,000, to set up a charitable fund as well as erect a statue, the committee settled for £3455, just enough to pay for a statue.

After many appeals to the working classes, most memorial funds still depended upon donations from the well-to-do. In Blackburn, nearly two-thirds of the total raised consisted of donations of a hundred pounds or over. Out of 150 donors, only 57 gave amounts under ten pounds, of which only 14 were under a pound. These included two donations of one shilling each from Mrs. Sarah Hargreaves and 'A Cotton Weaver.' The base of support, however, was larger than the number of donations indicates since various organisations, such as Cooperative Societies and churches pooled small amounts into larger donations.³⁵ A depression in the cotton industry during 1902-1903 no doubt impaired people's ability to donate.

Some memorials did not require any donations or government funding at all. The commissioning, payment and then donation by Mr. Allen H. Stoneham of Surbiton, London, of a memorial statue of Queen Victoria to be erected a world away in Perth, Western Australia, is a curious episode that illustrates how small the British world really was by 1903. Stoneham, now living in Surbiton, had been born and raised in Western Australia,

³⁴ TWA: T179/472. South Shields Memorial Fund Minute Book, 6 August 1908, County Borough of South Shields, Newcastle.

³⁵ BLC: QVMR127. Queen Victoria Memorial Fund - List of Subscriptions, Local Collection, Blackburn Libraries, Blackburn.

made a fortune out of mining and with his fortune moved to live out the rest of his life in Britain. In 1906 he even ran as a Unionist candidate for the Bosworth Division of Leicester with Alfred Deakin as a referee.³⁶ Mr. Stoneham's Victoria memorial for Perth which cost him £1,500, was made in Britain and shipped as a gift to West Australia, arriving in February 1903.³⁷ It was unveiled by the Governor, Sir Frederick G.D. Bedford on 19 October 1903.³⁸ Four guns (all made in England, two in 1793, the other two in 1843), had been in store in Fremantle and the Perth Town Council decided to use them in conjunction with the memorial and arranged around its base.³⁹ The figure that Mr. Stoneham chose was a version of F.J. Williamson's statue commissioned for the Royal College of Physicians in London.⁴⁰ This is the only instance I can find of a single person donating a major statue of Victoria and is incredibly valuable in understanding how personal and public 'Britishness' could at times come together. Mr. Stoneham's donation gives us an insight into his mental relationship with the land of his birth and what he considered to be his 'mother country.'

No such benefactor existed for other towns and cities. Fund raising was often difficult across the British world and the main factor that made it so was the proliferation of charitable and memorial campaigns already in existence and already asking for people's donations well before Victoria's death. In Britain, the people of Blackburn, for instance, had already been asked to donate to a new wing for the Infirmary during the Diamond Jubilee just four years earlier. The limitations on available funds became, for most memorial committees, one of the primary considerations when it was time to choose memorial designs. In Sheffield the committee committed itself to paying for extra figures but would not pay for an increase in size requested by the sculptor.⁴¹ It is also possible that working

³⁶ *Marlborough Express*, 9 January 1906, p. 2.

³⁷ *Architect*, 21 November 1902, p. 336 & *Western Mail*, 14 February 1903, p. 28.

³⁸ *West Australian*, 12 February 1903, p. 7 & *Western Mail*, 14 February 1903, p. 33.

³⁹ *Daily News*, 14 February 1903, p. 11 & *Western Mail*, 14 February 1903, p. 33.

⁴⁰ *Western Mail*, 14 February 1903, p. 33.

⁴¹ *Blackburn Times*, 26 November 1902, p. 3 & *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 17 January 1903, p. 11.

and lower-middle-class people felt they could ill afford to give large sums of money for public statuary. When they did wish to spend money commemorating Victoria, it was likely they did so by buying and collecting small souvenir items for their homes.

Besides fundraising, committees spent considerable energy selecting a location for their monument. Most towns had no trouble choosing a site that reflected a sense of local pride. The location chosen for the memorial in Christchurch, New Zealand, was not problematic. Victoria Square had in its earliest years been the location of the town market, until the 1870s when the traders shifted location to an even more central area around Cathedral Square. In 1896-97 the area was landscaped as a park to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee.⁴² The standing bronze figure of Victoria placed in the square, designed by F.J. Williamson was equally conventional, holding a sceptre and handkerchief. It did, however, have two unconventional bronze reliefs on the pedestal. One was of the landing of the pilgrims in 1850 which tied this statue of Victoria tightly to its antipodean setting and helped reinforce its function of representing the city's British links.⁴³ The Anglican pilgrims depicted were an off-shoot of the New Zealand Company and their creation of this British enclave in the South Seas had been planned at a meeting of the Canterbury Association held at 41 Charing Cross, London on 27 March 1848 where the resolution had been passed: 'that the chief town be Christchurch.' The other bronze relief, tellingly, depicted the dashing exploits of the Canterbury Rough Riders, the most swashbuckling of the New Zealand contingents to see action in support of Britain in the Boer War. The inclusion of these two panels turned the monument into an imperial history lesson in bronze and stone which emphasised the British heritage of the city in conjunction with its loyalty to the Queen. Inscribed on the front of the pedestal is 'Victoria 1837-1901,' while on the back are the names of 89 Canterbury men who fell in the Boer War.⁴⁴ The foundation stone was laid on

⁴² *Star*, 11 June 1897, p. 3 & *Lyttleton Times*, 26 May 1903, pp. 5-6.

⁴³ *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, 20 May 1903, p. 37.

⁴⁴ *Wanganui Herald*, 26 June 1903, p. 9.

22 June 1901 by the Duke of Cornwall and York.⁴⁵ The completed statue was unveiled years later by the Mayoress, Mrs. Wigram, on 25 May 1903 and finally the panels were unveiled on 7 April 1904, by the Governor, Lord Ranfurly.⁴⁶ It was a drawn out affair.

Location was equally important in Blackburn and equally unproblematic. A newspaper boasting that the Queen's statue there would be placed at a location that, 'if it can be equalled by any other town, cannot possibly be surpassed.'⁴⁷ The location of the memorial had the potential to convey meaning not about the Queen but about the municipality itself. In Carlisle, for instance, the memorial was placed in a park beside Carlisle Castle. One paper noted the appropriateness of this juxtaposition, since the castle was 'itself a standing monument of what life was like in Carlisle in days gone by.'⁴⁸ However, because the location of a monument touched on many issues such as use of public space and the identity of the town, it did become a contentious issue in some places.

The Queen Victoria Memorial Committee in Cawnpore was headed by Alexander McRobert, a local businessman and operated under the Regional Committee of the Province of Agra. It already had a prominent location in the colonial heart of the city marked out. The largest local donors in Cawnpore were the Elgin Mills (Rs2,500), Sir William Cooper (Rs2,500), Messrs Cooper Allen & Co (Rs5,000), the Cawnpore Woollen Mills (Rs25,000) and (possibly as an example of 'Ornamentalism' in action) Lalas Bishamber Nath and Kanaiya Lal (Rs2,000).⁴⁹ The total amount raised was Rs81,500, well above the actual cost of the statue at Rs54,000. With the surplus it was decided to erect

⁴⁵ D.M. Wallace, *The Web of Empire: A Diary of the Imperial Tour of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in 1901*, London, 1902, p. 278.

⁴⁶ *Lyttleton Times*, 8 April 1904, p. 2 & 26 May 1903, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁷ *Northern Daily Telegraph*, 31 March 1901, p. 2.

⁴⁸ *Carlisle Journal*, 8 July 1902, p. 4.

⁴⁹ D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 174-178.

another aluminium statue 'for the natives,' in another part of town rarely frequented by the white population.⁵⁰

Thomas Brock was chosen as the sculptor for the main statue in the centre of the city. The committee asked him to execute a figure similar to his statue of the Queen at Hove. The completed bronze standing figure arrived in Cawnpore in 1903 and was stored at Cawnpore Woollen Mills, awaiting the completion of a pedestal. The pedestal was constructed of stone from Orchha.⁵¹ The statue was officially unveiled at the Southeast entrance to Queen's Park by Sir John Hewett, Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, in 1904. The bronze statue was accompanied by two bronze pedestal panels with reliefs representing 'Empire,' 'Education,' 'Commerce & Science' and 'Art.'⁵²

The second statue, the only known aluminium figure of Queen Victoria was erected at Sarsaiya Ghat in Cawnpore, a location more accessible for Hindu women. No record exists as to just how this particular statue was interpreted by these Hindu women but it is logical that the surplus money would not have been spent on its production if it did not have some significance. Perhaps it was viewed similarly to the one at the British Embassy in Bangkok where the Victoria memorial statue is considered by local Thai women as a fertility idol:

This odd concept of Bangkok women becoming pregnant after a visit to Queen Victoria is due to the Thai perception of this historic Englishwoman (though, with hordes of children and grandchildren, there was no doubting her own fertility). In her day she was likened to a white elephant, which is no slur: pale-skinned elephants are sacred symbols of plenty to Thais. After an audience with Queen

⁵⁰ *Times of India*, 22 January 1902, p. 8.

⁵¹ *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 8 June 1903, p. 6 & *Times of India*, 19 June 1903, p.12.

⁵² *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 15 July 1904, pp. 10-11.

Victoria, an awestruck Siamese envoy once marvelled: 'Her eyes, complexion and above all her bearing are those of a beautiful and majestic white elephant.'⁵³

The aluminium Cawnpore statue was unveiled by Sir John Hewett, on 30 March 1907, with a guard-of-honour from the Somerset Light Infantry and in front of a large audience of European and Indian officials.⁵⁴ But in the end, even though it was meant to be a memorial to an important event, the passing of Queen Victoria, who knows what the local population made of it?

In Southport, the decision as to where Victoria would stand reflected different visions of the town and its future. Southport was a small city that had recently developed its waterfront as a tourist resort featuring a large pier and other amusements.⁵⁵ Surprisingly, the statue to the Queen was to be the first statue in the town and accordingly the Southport Memorial Committee took great care in choosing a site. After inconclusive discussions of the matter, the organisers asked the sculptor George Frampton to supply them with a full-size model of his statue, which they then placed around town at various places.⁵⁶

Although several sites were considered, the choice came down to two, each of which represented a very different vision of Southport. One was London Square, located several blocks from the ocean in the centre of town. London Square formed the centre point of elegant and commercial Lord Street and was not far from the town's municipal buildings. The second choice, which the committee narrowly favoured, had the statue facing the

⁵³ *Independent*, 20 March 2005, p. 5. See also: *Bangkok Post*, 15 December 2011, p. 23.

⁵⁴ *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 2 April 1907, p. 9 & D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, pp. 174-178.

⁵⁵ J.K. Walton, *English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1983, pp. 54-6.

⁵⁶ SLC: S718 TAX. Memorial Committee Meeting, 8 April 1902; 29 July, 3 February 1903, Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book, Southport.

ocean and situated in an area between a large hotel and the baths. Some town council members believed that a statue placed there would be a popular addition to the attractions of the waterfront. In fact, it had been an existing town committee in charge of the seaside attractions that had first suggested that Southport erect a statue to Queen Victoria.⁵⁷

While some saw the seaside setting as a distinct advantage, others viewed it as an affront. One local man, Henry Taylor, embarked on a campaign to prevent the memorial from being erected there. His concern, which was shared by some others, including the editor of the local newspaper, was that Southport would become a 'laughing stock' if the statue was placed 'on the great open space in front of a temporary-looking music-hall, on which are flaring advertisements.'⁵⁸ On the Promenade, he argued, the statue would be dwarfed by the seashore amusements and by empty space. Lord Street, on the other hand, according to Taylor, 'becoming by degrees one of the most beautiful thoroughfares in Europe.'⁵⁹

Underlying this criticism of the placement of the statue was social tension over of the influx of 'day trippers' to Southport.⁶⁰ 'Lord-street is Southport,' Taylor asserted, 'not the Front which is only frequented by cheap trippers.'⁶¹ The decision to place the statue on the promenade was made, Taylor suggested, by the same 'two or three men' who believed that 'flooding of the town with cheap day trippers tends to its prosperity' whereas 'the leading Southport tradesmen desire permanent well-to-do residents and consider the cheap tripper a nuisance and a loss.'⁶² For Taylor, the placement of the statue on the Promenade was a further step in the transformation of Southport into a tawdry resort. Taylor's protest

⁵⁷ *Southport Visitor*, 25 May 1901, p. 7.

⁵⁸ *Southport Guardian*, 30 January 1904, p. 6; *Southport Visitor*, 25 January 1904, p. 7 & *Southport Journal*, 29 January 1904, p. 8.

⁵⁹ *Southport Journal*, 2 February 1904, p. 7 & *Southport Visitor*, 2 February 1904, p. 6.

⁶⁰ J. K. Walton, *Lancashire: A Social History 1558-1939*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987, p. 296.

⁶¹ *Southport Visitor*, 15 March 1904, p. 6.

⁶² *Southport Guardian*, 18 March 1904, p. 7 & *Southport Visitor*, 15 March 1904, p. 6.

garnered substantial support and early in 1904 a group of subscribers met with the mayor to ask him to reconsider the statue's location. It was then agreed that the statue would be erected closer to Lord Street, in the Municipal Gardens.⁶³ This compromise site ended the 'battle of the sites,' and won general approval although some views of the statue would be blocked by tree branches.⁶⁴

The controversy over the statue in Southport is an excellent example of how diverse views sometimes came into play in the erection of a memorial and how seriously the details of a monument had to be considered. For some of the townspeople of Southport, the statue's placement would speak to future generations about what kind of town Southport was: a small, dignified commercial centre or a 'cheap' resort. For others, the statue was just another attraction in their town. It would be a sight to see and at the same time an opportunity to demonstrate the loyalty of both residents and visitors. To a degree, it would seem that the purpose of actually remembering the Queen became lost in the debate. The memory of the Queen and the concern over the site of the statue were not, however, unrelated. The same anxieties that underlay the controversy that Southport would be overrun with visitors and with cheap amusements, had been given as a reason for why the town needed a statue in the first place. One critic of the Promenade site was Canon Denton Thompson who felt that it would be a 'disastrous and irrevocable blunder' to erect it at the seaside.⁶⁵ Earlier, in the wake of Victoria's death, he had spoken strongly in favour of erecting a statue as a way of keeping a vision of moral purity before people who lived in an increasingly immoral commercial world.

Problems could also arise when the placement of a statue affected the use of public space. In Sheffield, the first choice for a site for a new memorial to Queen Victoria in 1901 was

⁶³ H. Taylor, *Queen Victoria's Statue*, Privately published, Southport, c. 1904, pp. 11-17.

⁶⁴ *Southport Visitor*, 16 July 1904, p. 7; 19 July, p. 6.

⁶⁵ *Southport Guardian*, 3 March 1904, p. 5; *Southport Journal*, 18 April 1904, p. 6.

already occupied by a monument, known as the Monolith, erected in honour of the 1887 Jubilee.⁶⁶ In a city with few open spaces, the Sheffield Committee coveted this central location for their memorial.⁶⁷ The irony of removing one supposedly permanent memorial to replace it with another did not seem to bother the planners. Since the Monolith was considered by many to be an aesthetic failure there was some support for the removal of what was irreverently termed 'the toothpick.'⁶⁸

However, the Monolith had for many years been an important meeting place for the city's working class and some worried replacing it with a statue would change the meaning of the space. Demonstrations, for instance, could never be tolerated in the presence of the Queen as they had been around the 'toothpick.' Would the presence of Victoria interfere with the rights of the city's inhabitants to free speech and assembly? Members of the committee were divided over the issue. One suggested that the gatherings at the Monolith did not 'serve any useful purpose' and that he 'would be glad to see them done away with.'⁶⁹ Another countered that the committee 'ought not to try to prevent working men from venting their opinions and holding meetings.'⁷⁰ At a town meeting, a man who claimed to speak for the working people of Sheffield threatened a 'desperate fight if they tried to take away that site as a place for speaking or interfere with what went on now at the Monolith.'⁷¹ The fight never materialised, other than in the columns of the local press but it is significant that the committee eventually changed its mind and placed the statue in front of the town hall that Victoria had opened in 1897. Paul Pickering's work on the fight over the erection of a statue of Fergus O'Connor in Nottingham during 1858-59 sheds light on just

⁶⁶ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 22 May 1901, p. 4.

⁶⁷ *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 12 February 1901, p. 5.

⁶⁸ *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 20 April 1901, p. 1.

⁶⁹ *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, 2 May 1901, p. 6.

⁷⁰ *Sheffield Weekly News*, 29 April 1901, p. 5 & *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 3 May 1901, p. 7.

⁷¹ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 13 February 1902, p. 5.

how battles like these were essentially about the democratisation of public spaces.⁷² This debate will be further explored in the final section of this thesis in regard to the Imperial Monument to Queen Victoria in London.

This process of democratisation of public spaces meant that the standing marble portrait statue of Queen Victoria erected in Nagpur by public subscription only stood happily in its chosen location for two years. The statue executed by Herbert Hampton was unveiled by Sir Andrew Leith Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, on 29 September 1906, at Maharaj Bagh in front of the newly constructed Victoria Technical Institute.⁷³ Unusually, this figure was vandalized on 13 November 1908 when the surface was painted with tar, the sceptre smashed and the nose broken. Painting her black, smashing her symbol of power and giving her a broken nose in the colonial context made perfectly clear the nationalist and independence bent of the protest. Such defacing of a statue of Queen Victoria was extremely rare in this period and it caused such an outrage that the Maharaja of Sirguja offered to provide funds to hire a twenty-four hour guard to protect the figure. In addition, a substantial reward of Rs 500 was posted for information leading to the arrest of the vandals.⁷⁴

Although local elites made the majority of the decisions, monuments were projects that inevitably involved many in the community. The extensive interest in statues of Victoria was most apparent at unveiling ceremonies, which had the character of minor holidays. Thousands of people turned out to hear bands play, politicians and dignitaries made speeches and, finally, to there was the uncovering of the statue. In Blackburn, for instance,

⁷² P. Pickering, 'The Chartist Rites of Passage: Commemorating Fergus O'Connor,' P. Pickering & A. Tyrell, *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot, 2004, pp. 101-126.

⁷³ *Friend of India and Statesman*, 12 October 1906, p. 11 & *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 13 October 1906, p. 7.

⁷⁴ *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 15 November 1908, p. 3.

the mills were shut for the day and thousands crowded the streets.⁷⁵ The interest in these events can be attributed to various factors, including the general celebratory atmosphere of the time and the appearance of important dignitaries who could only be seen if one attended. Indeed, memorial committees placed a high premium on attracting prominent figures to the unveilings. Royalty was the most coveted. More important dignitaries would attract larger crowds and reflect well on the importance of both the town and the statue. In South Shields, where the statue was not completed until 1913, the committee first sought a member of the royal family to attend the unveiling. When this failed, they worked their way through a series of rejections before settling for a local dignitary.⁷⁶ The Manchester committee arranged for Lord Roberts, who was in the city for another duty, to perform the honours. The presence of the commander of the South African campaign was probably one reason why the crowds at the Manchester unveiling numbered in the thousands.

The statues themselves were also major attractions. Monuments were impressive visual additions to turn-of-the-century townscapes, interesting enough to be featured on postcards and in sightseeing guides.⁷⁷ Moreover, their unveiling was usually preceded by years of press coverage and fundraising efforts, all of which generated natural curiosity. In Sheffield, spectators did not wait for the unveiling but turned out to see the statue being erected.⁷⁸ In Manchester, when the crowd's desire to see the statue and hear Lord Roberts was frustrated, they reacted with anger and threatened to spoil the occasion. The planners had erected a large grandstand which blocked the view of most of the spectators who then responded by 'pushing, shoving and angrily chanting'.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ *Blackburn Daily Telegraph*, 7 October 1905, p.12 & *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 1 November 1905, p. 8.

⁷⁶ TWA: T179/512. 'South Shields Memorial Fund Minute Book, 9 December 1912; 21 April; 2 May, 1913, Newcastle.

⁷⁷ E. J. Burrow, *The Borough Guide to Carlisle*, Privately published, Cheltenham, 1910, p. 38.

⁷⁸ *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 17 December 1904, p. 1 & *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 18 December 1904, p. 5.

⁷⁹ *Manchester Guardian*, 10 October 1907, p. 10 & *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 12 October 1907, p. 7.

Unveiling ceremonies were also opportunities for communal remembering of Victoria. Organisers and dignitaries reverentially spoke of the Queen and of their hopes for each memorial. As we have seen, in Hove, a statue begun as a memorial to the Diamond Jubilee was unveiled with great solemnity only weeks after Victoria's death. The mayor, spoke at that ceremony, pledging to 'honour and protect the statue, as a sacred memento of a great monarch, a kind friend and, above all, a good woman.'⁸⁰ Years later in Manchester, Lord Roberts spoke of the kindness of Victoria, while one of the organisers hoped that this 'living picture in bronze will forever inspire our citizens with that piety and greatness which distinguished Queen Victoria's life.'⁸¹ In Sheffield, one of the organisers described how 'the sons and daughters of Sheffield are themselves ennobled as they catch somewhat of the spirit which animated the noble life and exalted reign of England's greatest Queen.'⁸² It was not only at the unveilings that people remembered the Queen and spoke of the memorial. Local papers published remembrances and poems in honour of each unveiling. Some represented the statues as gifts of the people. In one of the several poems written for the Blackburn unveiling, the statue was described as the 'tribute of the toilers of the earth.'⁸³

The unveiling ceremonies, like the planning process, also reflected the interests of the organisers in both the aggrandisement of themselves and their towns. Public officials hoped that statues, like other civic works, would be lasting marks of their tenure in office. Committee members engaged in much self-congratulation at unveiling ceremonies. The official program for the unveiling of South Shields' statue featured a photograph, not of Victoria but of the town clerk who had served as honorary secretary to the Queen Victoria Memorial Executive Committee.⁸⁴ More often, however, planners spoke of the connection

⁸⁰ *Hove Echo*, 16 February 1901, p. 5 & *Brighton Herald*, 16 February 1901, p. 3.

⁸¹ *Western Times*, 10 October 1901, p. 4 & *Manchester Guardian*, 11 October 1901, p. 10.

⁸² *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 12 May 1905, p. 7.

⁸³ *Blackburn Weekly Telegraph*, 30 September 1905, p. 2; *Blackburn Times*, 30 September 1905, p. 3 & *Blackburn Times*, 19 October 1905, p. 5.

⁸⁴ TWA: T179/596. Unveiling of the Statue of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, Official Programme, County Borough of South Shields, Newcastle.

between their community's reputation and that of the Queen. In Sheffield one of the organisers spoke of the meaning of the memorial to the city: 'The memorial is a credit ... to the public spirit of the city ... Sheffield honours itself in honouring Victoria and remembers both the Queen and the loyalty of the city.'⁸⁵



Figure 38. 'Queen Victoria' Penang, Malaysia, unveiled 1930. Photograph Annie Kwok with permission.

A very convincing example of David Cannadine's theories on 'Ornamentalism,' is the very last official memorial project to Queen Victoria completed in Penang, Malaya, surprisingly in 1930. The bronze statue was executed by Frederick Wilcoxson and shows Queen Victoria sitting on her throne, wearing coronation robes, with four lions decorating the base of the tall pedestal. (Figure 38.) Just why a statue of Queen Victoria was erected so long after her death and not to the monarch of the day, and why it was funded by public

⁸⁵ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 12 May 1905, p. 7.

subscription exclusively from Chinese residents is a complete mystery. However, on the pedestal, in some attempt to share in her immortality and gain prestige by association are listed all the people or businesses that contributed to it in a descending order of contribution, accompanied by the exact amount in Straits dollars. At the top of the list is Cheah, Kongsì who gave M\$6,200 and at the bottom are: Lin Cheng Eam, Tye Chee Teak and the Estate of Lin Hua Chiam who donated M\$100 each. The pedestal was donated by Khoo Siam Ewe, JP.⁸⁶ The statue was unveiled by Sir Cecil and Lady Clementi in 1930 at the junction of Jalan Burma and Jalan Pangkor, in one corner of the Chinese Recreational Club playing fields, known as Victoria Green.⁸⁷ The list is still there for all to read but the people on it probably are unlikely to be, after the Japanese occupied the city in 1941. Ironically and quite sadly, it must have provided a very handy reference for the Kempeitai as just who to look for in the area in their process of finding and eliminating local community leaders who had been most loyal to the previous colonial administration.⁸⁸ It has now become their memorial as much as Victoria's.

⁸⁶ *Malayan Saturday Post*, 9 August 1930, p. 7 & *Straits Times*, 5 August 1930, p. 5.

⁸⁷ *Straits Times*, 5 August 1930, p. 6. See also: *Singapore Daily News*, 1 September 1903, p. 8.

⁸⁸ The Kempeitai were the brutal Japanese Military Police Corps, infamous for atrocities committed against Straits Chinese in the period 1941-1945 in reprisal for their financial support pre-1941 for Chinese nationalists in China fighting the Japanese.

12. Size is Not Grandeur and Territory Does Not Make a Nation

As well as towns and cities throughout Britain and the empire commissioning local statues of Queen Victoria there were two memorial mega-projects undertaken after her death: the Imperial Memorial in London and the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta. Though literally a world away from each other, both were ambitious and expensive schemes involving a combination of architecture and sculpture and both were designed to change the very dynamics of the cities in which they stood.

Firstly, in Calcutta, the Viceroy - Lord Curzon - contemplated writing the history of Victoria's reign, in marble and sandstone. His conception was a massive Victoria memorial to celebrate Victoria's beneficent rule of the Subcontinent and pay homage to the dead Empress. It was a project that must have been very important to him, so much so that on his deathbed in 1925 the Victoria Memorial was the subject of his final words.¹ Curzon had been unpopular in Bengal, having been ineffective in fighting a disastrous famine from 1899 to 1901. However, his plan for a massive memorial to the dead Empress was greeted with as much enthusiasm as elsewhere in the empire. Architecturally minded, he took a very active part in its planning. He applied for and received permission from the British Parliament to raise funds and build, on the understanding that the funds for the project would come completely from within India itself and presumably not take funds from their own special imperial project. Advertisements asking for public support and donations were published in India, in *The Englishman* and the *Statesman*.² He further promoted his project at two subsequent gatherings of Calcutta's elite. He proposed that a solemn mausoleum, on a grandiose scale, be constructed at the centre of a beautiful garden. Both British and Indian

¹ D. Gilmour, *Curzon: Imperial Statesman*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, London, 2003, p. 659.

² *The Englishman*, 14 August 1901, p. 4 & *Statesman*, 17 August 1901, p. 3.

residents of the city were invited to condolence meetings in 1901 where the memorial was actively promoted and donations solicited.

Through local newspapers and direct submission to the Viceroy, suggestions were put forward by both the British and Indian population as to what it should look like and where it should be sited. An anonymous correspondent to the *Statesman* recommended a vacant block adjacent to Sealdah railway station as the ideal location. The site would enable visitors to the city to have a glimpse of the memorial when they first stepped out of the station.³ Gurudas Banerjee who held the post of Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court and was the first Indian Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University argued for a museum containing documents and objects of Indian heritage.⁴ Surendranath Banerjee who founded the Indian National Association - one of the earliest Indian political organizations and who later became a senior leader of the Indian National Congress, also wanted a museum but one with special emphasis on the ethnic diversity of India, with exhibits about specific groups like the Sikhs, Rajasthanis and the Marathas.⁵ Curzon agreed to a museum being a part of the building but not surprisingly - shifted its focus to Indo-'British' history.

As things turned out and unlike many of the other projects that we have seen so far, money for this memorial was not a problem. More than sufficient funds were raised from inside the Indian Subcontinent for the memorial. In 1901 Curzon's appeal for funds received an immediate response, both from a mercantile elite, composed of a burgeoning industrial class and the princely kingdoms, despite many of them having dwindling coffers. Within two days of the opening of the official appeal, Curzon had

³ *Statesman*, 25 September 1901, p. 3.

⁴ *Voice of India*, 26 September 1901, p. 5 & *Statesman*, 4 November 1901, p. 6.

⁵ *Statesman*, 4 November 1901, p. 7 & *Times of India*, 3 November 1901, p. 3.

been promised a sum of Rs.2,650,000 (US\$1,300,000 in 2011).⁶ David Cannadine has argued that the British Empire, 'was not exclusively (or even preponderantly) concerned with the creation of "otherness" on the presumption that the imperial periphery was different from and inferior to, the imperial metropolis.'⁷ The level and source of the contributions to this project serve to illustrate Cannadine's thoughts on how, 'it was at least as much (perhaps more?) concerned with what has been recently called the "construction of affinities" on the presumption that society on the periphery was the same as, or even on occasions, superior to, society in the metropolis.' Viewed from this perspective, these contributions were 'about the familiar and the domestic, as well as the different and the exotic.' The whole process of involving prominent Indians through financial participation in the memorializing of Victoria 'was in large part about the domestication of the exotic - the rendering and reordering of the foreign in parallel, analogous, equivalent, resemblant terms.'⁸

Some of the princely kingdoms probably contributed simply because dissociating themselves from such a loyal project might make them less favoured than those states that showed clearly where their allegiances lay.⁹ The colonial government in India ensured that any promises of donations were kept, sometimes going to what would today seem extreme lengths. When a Rangoon based timber merchant died without paying the amount he had committed to the memorial an investigative team was sent

⁶ *The Englishman*, 11 November 1901, p. 7; *Statesman*, 12 November 1901, p. 4; *Times of India*, 11 November 1901, p. 5. The sum of Rs is the equivalent of US\$ 1,300,000 in 2011.

⁷ D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, p. 176.

⁸ D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*, Oxford University Press; Oxford, 2002, p. 178.

⁹ I. Copland, *Princes of India in the Endgame of Empire 1917-1945*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, p. 316 & N.B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001, p. 372.

out to establish if he had been insolvent before his death, in an attempt to saddle his sons with the payments.¹⁰

The final cost of construction of the monument amounted to a considerable Rs. 10,500,000 (US\$ 5,121,000 in 2011) and was entirely derived from what were publicly listed as 'voluntary' subscriptions from within the Subcontinent.¹¹ The architect appointed was William Emerson who had first visited India almost forty years before. His early works including the Crawford Markets in Bombay (1865) and the All Saints Cathedral in Allahabad (1870-1887). In these and some other early projects Emerson had experimented with Gothic styles, which appealed to Curzon.¹² Curzon made clear his preference for a Gothic style structure in the brief delivered to the architect but the final decision was left up to Emerson who decided instead that a fusion of British and Mughal architecture would be more appropriate for the structure.¹³

One stumbling block was that Emerson refused to move from the United Kingdom to India to directly supervise the project, because of old age and disinclination, so it was necessary to find a person to be put in charge of the day to day construction on the ground. Vincent Jerome Esch proved to be the best choice for the position because he was already in India, was not too old and had a good track record with big projects. Esch was instructed to liaise with Emerson and prepare the plans for the memorial. Lobbying took place to make sure that, to save time and trouble, he was in charge of both the planning and the construction.¹⁴ It took three years for the work to get into

¹⁰ *Statesman*, 6 February 1911, p. 5 & *Times of India*, 8 February 1911, p. 7.

¹¹ *The Englishman*, 21 March 1926, p. 4. The sum in Rs is the equivalent of US\$ 5,121,000 in 2011.

¹² *British Colonial Architecture III - A Search for an Imperial Style*, <http://www.boloji.com/architecture/00039.htm>, 2004.

¹³ *Architectural Review*, 4 June 1924, p. 63. See also: *The Victoria Memorial Hall Calcutta*, <http://www.victoriamemorial-cal.org/architecture.html>.

¹⁴ V. Sachdev & G. Tillotson, *Building Jaipur: The Making of an Indian City*, Reaktion Books, London, 2002, p. 184.

full swing and by that time the man who had instigated the construction, Curzon, had returned to England. The project did not run smoothly and was often hampered by a series of new Viceroy's who really did not care about something that they could not put their own names to. The final factor that caused delay after delay was the site itself, the land was unstable in parts and had to be regularly monitored.¹⁵

The completed memorial, still standing today, looks a little like the Taj Mahal and that resemblance gives the building its Indian character. From the very start, even before he expressed any views on style, Curzon insisted that the Memorial should be built of white marble and as things worked out the stone was brought from exactly the same quarries in Makrana, Rajasthan, that supplied Shah Jahan's Taj Mahal. There is also a correspondence in form, with the Victoria Memorial - like the Taj - having a great dome, clustered with four subsidiary, octagonal domed chattris, high portals, a terrace and domed corner towers. There is even some correspondence of function. Like Shah Jahan, Curzon conceived the building as a memorial to an Empress and as a powerful visual statement of love. This combining of the Mughal and British styles on Emerson's part was meant to reinforce the idea of India's imperial past while simultaneously linking it to India's British imperial future. The collection of exhibits within, sustained this link and is typical of the self-representation of the late Raj, of which Curzon's Delhi Durbar and the whole Indo-Saracenic movement are further examples. In this context, the echo of the Taj Mahal can be seen as an effect deliberately sought by an 'imperial' architect who also greatly admired and wished to pay homage to a Mughal masterpiece.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 15 October 1925, p. 14 & *Times of India*, 25 April 1926, p. 6.

¹⁶ *The Victoria Memorial Hall Calcutta*, <http://www.victoriamemorial-cal.org/architecture.html>.

The structure was conceived and designed in 1901, the substructure begun in 1904 and the foundation stone laid by the Prince of Wales in 1906.¹⁷ However, it would be another four years before work on the building itself began. When, on 4 January 1912, King George V came to inspect progress, it was to a Calcutta that had lost status in the geopolitics of India, now only a secondary city. In December 1911 it was decided that Delhi would be the new capital of India.¹⁸ This was something that Curzon could not have foreseen and it shifted the dynamic completely of the monument. Without moving one centimetre, physically, it had moved light years metaphorically from being the Indian Imperial Memorial and the centre piece of the capital to an unexplainably grandiose folly located in what was now no more than an Indian provincial city. In December 1921 it was formally opened but on the same tour the new Prince of Wales spent most of his time inspecting the progress of New Delhi.¹⁹ It was a project overtaken by history. This is how the official guide book describes it today:

In the central hall, scenes from the life of the Queen were painted by Frank Salisbury, and in the centre a marble statue of the young Queen by Sir Thomas Brock. A more elderly Queen in bronze by Sir George Frampton, sits enthroned on Esch's bridge. In the paved quadrangles and elsewhere around the building, other statues were added to commemorate Hastings, Cornwallis, Clive, Wellesley and Dalhousie.²⁰

The main statue of Victoria, the Frampton statue was, like so many others that we have seen, originally commissioned to commemorate the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

The call for donations had been launched at a public meeting on 22 April 1897.²¹ The

¹⁷ *Times of India*, 2 September 1906, p. 7 & *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 6 September 1906, p. 3.

¹⁸ *The Englishman*, 6 January 1912, p. 5 & *Times of India*, 12 January 1912, p. 6.

¹⁹ *Times of India*, 23 December 1921, p. 6.

²⁰ *The Victoria Memorial Hall Calcutta*, <http://www.victoriamemorial-cal.org/architecture.html>.

²¹ *Statesman*, 24 April 1897, p. 6.

design was still considered appropriate after her death so it remained unaltered from the design originally chosen.²² The pedestal was finally shipped to India in August 1901 after Victoria's death but the figure was shown at the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1901 and arrived even later in January 1902.²³ By this time the scheme for the Victoria Memorial was under way. Lord Curzon wanted the statue as part of the larger memorial.²⁴ The statue committee, however, were anxious that the already late Jubilee monument should be erected without delay.²⁵ Curzon suggested that it could temporarily be placed on Red Road in Calcutta until the Victoria Memorial was completed. This plan was accepted and the statue was unveiled at its temporary site by Lord Curzon himself on 19 March 1902.²⁶ The statue was moved to its permanent position during 1919 and the whole Victoria Memorial project was finally completed by the end of 1921.²⁷ (Figure 39.) It had been a drawn out affair, to say the least.

The statue is rich with imperial and British ornaments. Victoria, appropriately for the setting, is clothed in her robes for the Order of the Star of India, with a widow's cap and small crown. In one hand is a sceptre and in the other an orb surmounted by a figure of St. George. She leans against a cushion, exposing the English roses ornamenting the throne behind her head. The uprights of the throne are topped by two small figures representing Justice and Art and Literature and include branches of British oak leaves. On the back of the throne are the lion of England and the tiger of India. Above them is blazing a sun that never sets. Victoria's throne rests on a solid

²² *Friend of India and Statesman*, 20 March 1902, p. 17 & *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 24 March 1902, p. 8.

²³ *Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News*, 20 January 1902, p. 10.

²⁴ *Times of India*, 19 March 1902, p. 6 & *Friend of India and Statesman*, 18 March 1902, p. 11.

²⁵ *Friend of India and Statesman*, 21 March 1902, p. 17.

²⁶ *Voice of India*, 17 April 1902, p. 9. *Sphere*, 19 April 1902, pp. 68-9.

²⁷ *Builder*, 2 December 1921, p. 744.

base of green marble, at the front of which is the Royal Coat of Arms guarded on both sides by a bronze figure of turbaned Indian soldier.



Figure 39. 'Victoria Memorial and Victoria Memorial Hall,' dedicated to the Empress of India, Calcutta (now Kolkata), West Bengal, dedicated 1921. Photograph David Lee with permission.

It was originally planned to construct parts of the monument out of precious materials so as to capture the spirit of India as the brightest jewel in the imperial crown. The Queen's crown was to be real gold; her sceptre to be gilt ivory; and her orb of lapis lazuli with a gold figure of St. George. The cushion behind her was to have been enamelled in sky blue and white and the Royal Coat of Arms was to have also been colour enamelled.²⁸ They were all omitted from the final product, because of the cost and fear of theft and thereby desecration.

Far from Calcutta, the completion of the other mega-project commemorating the passing of Queen Victoria, the Imperial Memorial in London, was also a protracted

²⁸ *Sketch*, 12 October 1898, p. 523.

affair. Viscount Esher, Permanent Secretary to the Office of Works, had written in his diary on 22 January 1901: 'A Memorial is on foot for the Queen ... A committee is projected, on which it is suggested I should serve... I suggested Queen Victoria's Schools to train boys for the Army at Edinburgh, Dublin, Melbourne, Quebec and Calcutta.'²⁹ On 10 February 1901, he had what he considered to be an even better idea:

I have made another suggestion for a Memorial to the Queen. To buy Osborne from the King and to keep it as a shrine, uncontaminated by domestic use and to fill it with memorials of the Queen. This might appeal to the coloured imagination, as it certainly would to the Oriental mind. It would have a good practical effect on the King's future financial position.³⁰

Neither of Eshers' ideas was taken up. The Imperial Monument that did emerge ultimately embraced the laying out of the Mall and of the Broad Walk in Green Park, the building of Admiralty Arch and the refacing of Buckingham Palace. All of this radiating from yet another statue of Queen Victoria. (Figure 40.)

A committee was appointed on 19 February 1901 by the new King Edward VII, to consider an appropriate memorial to the Queen's memory. The Chairman was the Prime Minister (the Marquis of Salisbury) and the twelve members included the Leader of the House of Commons (Arthur Balfour), the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman), the First Commissioner of Works (Aretas Akers-Douglas) and the Lord Mayor of London as Treasurer. Sir Arthur Bigge, formerly Private Secretary to the Queen, was initially named as secretary of the committee; but within a few days he was appointed Private Secretary to

²⁹ CAC: ESHR Journals, 2/10. Esher Journal, 3 February 1901, Carmarthenshire Archive Service, Carmarthen.

³⁰ CAC: ESHR Journals, 2/10. Esher Journal, 10 February 1901.

the Prince of Wales (later King George V) and Esher was made secretary in his place.³¹



Figure 40. 'Victoria Memorial,' Context, Queen's Gardens, Buckingham Palace, London, dedicated 1911. Author's own photograph.

The committee got down to business right away, probably to pre-empt extravagant or impractical proposals from press and public. It decided, subject to the King's approval that the memorial be architectural, not utilitarian; that it should include an effigy of the Queen; that it should be in London and that it should be funded by subscriptions from all parts of the empire, rather than by a Government grant. A Memorial Fund was opened by the Lord Mayor of London. On 7 March he wrote to the mayors and provosts of Great Britain inviting contributions from their towns and on 26 March a public meeting was held at Mansion House to win support for the scheme and to officially open the fund.³²

³¹ TNA: PRO WORK 20/20. The Report of Queen Victoria Memorial Committee (VMC), March 1911.

³² *Times*, 27 March 1901, p. 3. However, even though it was launched by the Mayor of London, contributions were solicited from the whole nation: *Western Times*, 22 April 1901, p. 3; *Northampton Mercury*, 21 June 1901, p. 6 & *Gloucester Citizen*, 14 December 1901, p. 4. To quote just a few.

When the committee decided that the London memorial to Victoria would be an 'imperial' memorial it was a pragmatic as well as a symbolic move. By doing so they secured the financial viability of the project while at the same time adding to its grandeur. Whereas it was the Lord Mayor of London who asked his fellow Lord Mayors across Great Britain to contribute to the project, it was the British Prime Minister who offered the carrot of imperial recognition when he asked his colonial equivalents and their parliaments to contribute. The Planning Committee offered the stick, making it perfectly clear that lack of contribution would mean lack of recognition on the monument itself. The result was a large colonial contribution of £115,295, this time from government treasuries rather than individual contribution, towards the total funds of £353,907.³³ However, the 'imperial' part of the Imperial Memorial caused major problems and the way it was relegated further and further down the list of priorities may be indicative of the fate of the imperial project in general. It had been announced in 1902 that the sums contributed by the empire would be applied in each case to a particular feature of the memorial.³⁴ The original plan included statues along the Mall devoted to the imperial partners who had contributed but this part of the project was abandoned. In 1904, after complaints from the Colonial Office, a second scheme was put forward. This would see nine feet high statues 'emblematic of Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa erected on the main piers of the three gateways to the memorial space.'³⁵ This plan was also later shelved. So, despite their generous contributions the major imperial contributors were never significantly acknowledged on the monument itself and their colonial symbols were relegated to the tops of surrounding gate posts, as the *Telegraph* noted

³³ The largest donations, not surprisingly, came from the richest and largest of the settler colonies. Australia £33,000, Canada £30,000, Cape Colony £21,000 & New Zealand £12,000. See: CLRO: Queen Victoria Memorial Fund, Final Statement of Accounts, undated, Corporation of London Record Office.

³⁴ *The Times*, 14 May 1902, p.6.

³⁵ *Telegraph*, 3 April 1904, p. 5.

'almost as an after thought'.³⁶ Not just under acknowledged but noticeably missing in the final product, was any reference to India. The Planning Committee had been true to its word and excluded any reference to the only non-payer, India. Curzon's Calcutta Memorial had been the soul beneficiary of Indian contributions. The exclusion of any Indian reference makes this a very problematic 'imperial' monument, as it fails to capture the importance that Victoria, 'Empress of India,' herself placed on the Subcontinent under British rule.

This proposal was immediately approved by the King. At their second meeting the committee appointed an executive committee comprising the President of the Royal Academy (Sir Edward Poynter), the President of the Royal Institute of Architects (Sir William Emerson) who was the architect of the Calcutta Victoria Memorial, Lord Windsor and Mr. (later Sir Sidney) Colvin (British Museum) with Viscount Esher as Chairman.³⁷ In December 1901 the responsibilities of the general and executive committees were thus effectively transferred to a smaller committee specially appointed by the King to supervise the actual construction. This committee, also under the chairmanship of Esher, was generally referred to as the Victoria Memorial Committee (VMC). Lord Esher was the common thread running through all these bodies, first as Permanent Secretary to the Office of Works and (from 1902), as Deputy Constable of Windsor Castle. This later post gave him unrestricted access to Edward VII, to whom he was a trusted adviser and confidant.³⁸ Esher played a leading role in the conception and construction of the memorial.

³⁶ *Telegraph*, 31 October 1924, p. 11.

³⁷ *Builder*, 13 April 1901, p. 359 & TNA: PRO WORK 20/20. Minutes of the Queen Victoria Memorial Committee (VMC), March 1911.

³⁸ *Telegraph*, 19 October 1901, p. 14 & J. Lees-Milne, *The Enigmatic Edwardian*, Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., London, 1988, *passim*.

At the Executive Committee meeting on 25 February 1901 most members favoured a proposal by Richard Allison, a young official from the Office of Works, to create an open space resembling a French 'place,' outside Buckingham Palace. The statue of Queen Victoria would be seated under a canopy. The Mall would be realigned and a ceremonial arch would be erected at its eastern end, opening onto Trafalgar Square.³⁹ When these recommendations were considered by the General Committee on 1 March, with the Prime Minister in the chair, the committee was more cautious. They agreed only that the memorial should include, as its most prominent feature, a statue of the Queen. The choice of a site would be left open so as to consider in detail if a location in the neighbourhood of Westminster or the Palace of Westminster would be a better alternative to that in front of Buckingham Palace.⁴⁰

The Buckingham Palace site had many precedents. The practice of erecting monuments in squares or places approached by wide boulevards was already well established in Europe. The whole ensemble was also usually planted with attractive trees and flowers, creating a park like setting. Such plan fell completely in with the developing of theories of town planning at this time. The Town Planning Movement was mainly concerned with slum clearances and the provision of better housing for the working class but it also involved aspects of 'uplifting' civic art and many cities - including Paris, Vienna, Brussels and Berlin undertook extensive programmes of road widening, tree planting and the creation of parks and squares adorned with statues and fountains.⁴¹ Although

³⁹ *Academy Architecture*, September 1901, pp. 116-117. & M.H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London 1850-1915*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995, p. 24.

⁴⁰ *Builder*, 4 June 1901, p. 463 & *Architecture*, 10 July 1901, p. 26.

⁴¹ P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution; An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*, Williams Publication, London, 1915, pp. 78-86. See also: G.E. Cherry, *Town Planning in Britain Since 1900: The Rise and Fall of the Planning Ideal*, Wiley-Blackwell, London, 1996, pp. 11-19.

there had been some successful town planning schemes carried out in Britain, such as the Victoria Embankment in London, generally things were done in a haphazard manner with public statues being erected wherever there was a convenient spot, without regard for the setting, surrounding buildings or final effect.⁴²

The influence of these ideas can also be seen, in microcosm, in the planning of an earlier memorial to Queen Victoria at Leeds. This memorial project was launched in July 1901. After the rejection of a far too expensive plan to build a new 'Victoria Maternity Wing' at the Women and Children's Hospital, another plan to rebuild the main entrance to Yorkshire College and re-name it 'Victoria Gate,' and finally a picture buying spree for the City Art Gallery were considered, it was decided to place a statue of the Queen in an already existing 'Victoria Square'.⁴³ On 20 January 1903 the sculptor and landscape designer George Frampton submitted three proposals to the Property Committee of Leeds Council, one of which was approved. This plan provided for the enclosing of the square by ornamental stonework in harmony with the Town Hall and for raising the whole area level with the Town Hall steps. Victoria would occupy the central position between two existing statues, one of Peel and another of Wellington and '...everywhere green tubs with rhododendrons to introduce colour and create the impression of a continental grand place' would be placed.⁴⁴ In both the Lancaster and Bradford memorial schemes similar efforts were made involving the laying out of gardens and the planting of squares in which the

⁴² *Morning Post*, 16 July 1870, p. 3 & *London Daily News*, 13 July 1870, p. 5. See also: P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution; An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*, Williams Publication, London, 1915, p. 23.

⁴³ *Leeds Mercury*, 3 July 1901, p. 6 & *Leeds Times*, 12 July 1901, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*, 5 February 1903, p. 9 & *Yorkshire Post*, 27 March 1903, p. 6.

statues would stand.⁴⁵ The proposal that the Imperial Memorial should embrace not only the traditional sculptural monument but also the creation of a processional approach by the realignment and adornment of the Mall, was a response, on a much grander scale, to these current ideas about the purpose and effective presentation of civic art and was clearly an attempt to, as *The Times* demanded, 'to rival other big projects abroad.'⁴⁶

It is possible that the inclusion of Westminster as a possible location was prompted by a letter from George Shaw Lefevre, a former (Liberal) First Commissioner of Works. He recalled that the Golden Jubilee Committee in 1887 had suggested that a Memorial Chapel be built in Old Palace Yard and connected to the Abbey by a cloister.⁴⁷ Queen Victoria had replied that she was already committed to the proposed Imperial Institute as the main feature of the Golden Jubilee commemoration and added (with a possible trace of irony) that a Chapel would be more appropriate after her death.⁴⁸

Any dispute about the site would be promptly settled by the King who from the outset took a close personal interest in all matters connected with the memorial. On 4 March, accompanied by the Leader of the House of Commons (Balfour), the First Commissioner for Works (Akers Douglas) and Lord Esher, the King made a tour of inspection through the Palace of Westminster and Westminster Abbey and discussed on the spot the merits of the various proposals.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Architect*, 27 June 1902, pp. 413-4 & *Academy Architecture*, September 1902, pp. 120-122.

⁴⁶ *The Times*, 6 March 1901, p. 6.

⁴⁷ *Telegraph*, 8 March 1901, p. 4. See also: *London Daily News*, 11 March 1901, p. 7.

⁴⁸ CAC: ESHR Journals, 2/10. Esher Journals, 3 February 1901, Carmarthenshire Archive Service, Carmarthen.

⁴⁹ *The Times*, 5 March 1901, p. 5. See also: CAC: ESHR Journals, 2/10. Esher Journals, 4 March 1901, Carmarthenshire Archive Service, Carmarthen.

The King's 'prompt' decision in favour of the Buckingham Palace site was duly noted by the Executive Committee on 11 March 1901. The meeting then went on to recommend that the Monument to be erected in front of Buckingham Palace include a statue of the Queen. They also wanted an Arch, 'commemorative of the progress of Art and Science during the Queen's reign', to be erected at the Trafalgar Square entrance of The Mall. Furthermore, that the Monument and Arch become the defining points of an 'architectonic scheme' by way of 'a modification of The Mall in order to centre the avenue of trees with the proposed monument and Buckingham Palace,' and thereby providing an opportunity to line the avenue with other appropriate sculptural groups.⁵⁰

Although Esher's original ideas had been different, he was now completely converted to this Mall scheme. He wrote to his son Maurice on 11 March 1901: 'I carried my scheme unanimously for the Queen's Memorial in the Mall... He (the King) was delighted to get the thing settled on these lines... I suggested he should give a sub. to the Memorial himself - he thought it a good idea.'⁵¹ The King was as good as his word. At a fundraising meeting in the Mansion House on 26 March the Lord Mayor of London announced that His Majesty would contribute a rather modest 1,000 Guineas to the fund and that the proposed scheme for placing the memorial in front of Buckingham Palace had the King's entire approval.⁵²

With the Victoria Memorial Fund duly launched, Lord Esher wrote on 26 March to five architects (Rowand Anderson, Sir Thomas Drew, Ernest George, Thomas Jackson RA and Aston Webb ARA) inviting them each to prepare a design for

⁵⁰ *Architect*, 20 December 1901, p. 7. See also: M.H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London 1850-1915*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1995, p.24.

⁵¹ CAC: ESHR Journals, 7/14. Esher Journals, General 1901, Carmarthenshire Archive Service, Carmarthen.

⁵² *The Times*, 27 March 1901, p. 6 & *Daily Mail*, 27 March 1901, p. 3.

the architectonic treatment of The Mall. At the same time, he informed the Lord Mayor of London that the Executive Committee had requested Thomas Brock to prepare a design for the group or groups of statuary that were to form the memorial to the Queen. It was 'not beyond reasonable expectation' that Brock, in collaboration with the architect ultimately selected, 'might produce a memorial worthy of Queen Victoria and the capital of the empire.'⁵³ The landscape designs presented were all in the baroque style and all celebrated the prosperity and self-confidence of the British Empire at its zenith in their grandiose scale, their lavish ornamentation and their extensive use of statuary and fountains.⁵⁴ The Executive Committee decided that it was unnecessary to hold a competition to select a sculptor, Brock was their man. He was simply asked to produce a small scale preliminary sketch model, in clay of his ideas. It was completed and delivered in only three days. The new King came to see it, regarded it in silence for some time and then approved it with the words 'That is to be the monument.'⁵⁵

It was at this late stage that an objection to the location of the memorial, immediately outside the Palace gates, was raised by the King's sister, that caused him to have second thoughts. Princess Louise, as we have already noted, was herself a sculptor of some ability. She was upset that she had not been consulted at any stage and decided to intervene at the eleventh hour.⁵⁶ Esher wrote a private letter to Francis Knollys in July 1901 saying that her objections were 'founded upon fears that to form a place for a statue in front of the Palace will

⁵³ *London Daily News*, 5 April 1901, p. 5; *The Times*, 5 April 1901, p. 4 & *Manchester Evening News*, 7 April 1901, p. 5.

⁵⁴ TNA: PRO WORK 19/52. Notes: Queen Victoria Memorial Committee London, 4 July 1901. See also: P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, 1915, p. 51-53.

⁵⁵ NAL: MSL 1980/97. Letter to Lord Alverstone, Thomas Brock 1900-14, 23 May 1901, Victoria & Albert Museum, National Art Library, London.

⁵⁶ NAL: MSL 1980/97. Letter from the King, Thomas Brock 1900-14, 18 June 1901, Victoria & Albert Museum, National Art Library, London.

lead to the gathering there of mobs and the creation of a second Trafalgar Square,' and he asked Knollys to speak to the King as quickly as possible to head off any changes to the plan.⁵⁷ Esher also lobbied Arthur Balfour and other members of the Memorial Committee.⁵⁸ Evidently Knollys was able to reassure the King, as nothing more was heard of Princess Louise's objections and Esher wrote on 28 August: 'The K [sic] thought that the monument itself should be in the Centre of the Place.'⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Louise was so angry with her brother over this affair that the King later told Esher that he had not seen her for nine months.⁶⁰

On 30 June 1901 a sketch model, now cast in plaster, was sent by Brock to St James's Palace, along with the individual proposals by the five architects for the whole Mall scheme. After the King had inspected the designs, the Executive Committee recommended on 15 July that the sketch model be accepted 'subject to such modifications as may be necessitated by the Memorial Scheme as a whole', that Aston Webb's plan for the general treatment of the space in front of Buckingham Palace be the one accepted for that part of The Mall scheme 'subject to certain changes' unspecified; and that consideration of the remainder of The Mall scheme be postponed until the amount of the public subscription was known. The General Committee approved these recommendations and the model and Mall design were placed on public view at the Foreign Office.⁶¹

⁵⁷ CAC: ESHR W38. Assorted Papers 1901, Esher File.

⁵⁸ CAC: ESHR 7/14. General Journals 1901.

⁵⁹ CAC: ESHR W38. Assorted Papers 1901, Esher File.

⁶⁰ This is mentioned in notes for a letter contained in this General File of odds and ends from 1901. They appear to be notes for a letter or a meeting, however Esher never states who he is going to give this rather personal information to. See: CAC: ESHR 7/14. General Journals 1901. See also: C. Hibert, *Edward VII: The Last Victorian King*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, (2nd ed.), 2007, p. 212 who also makes passing mention of the same.

⁶¹ TNA: PRO WORK 20/20. Minutes of the Queen Victoria Memorial Committee (VMC), 15 July 1901. See also: *The Times*, 27 July 1901, p. 6.

Dugald MacColl, a Scottish water colour painter, art critic, lecturer and writer, did not in any way like the design and he said so. He described the monument as: '...a grandiose and elaborate affair, involving much architectural as well as sculptural design...its main lines and proportions are open to the criticism that they promise little concision and force.' MacColl then went on to question the appointment of Webb and Brock because: 'A scheme so big calls for the trained genius of an architect as well as of a sculptor; and one fears that there will be a frittering away of affect, an accumulation of fairly good details and no more.' His final judgement was that: 'These details sum up mentally into an apotheosis of the Queen but do not deliver their single blow plastically...[the Queen] will have to dispute precedence with her own Virtues and be crushed beneath by her own Victory.'⁶²

MacColl was not alone in disputing the appointments, Rowand Anderson - one of the five architects asked to submit an 'architectonic scheme,' commissioned a sketch model of what he considered a 'far more suitable' monument than that proposed by Brock, which he then placed in position on his plan, even though he knew a sculptor had already been appointed.⁶³ At the same time, the renowned sculpture John Adams Acton, in protest sent his alternative proposal direct to Lord Esher. It had the Queen in her coronation robes and 'from the utmost jewel in her crown a great light would radiate at night and lesser lights from her other jewels'. The whole was to be 'mounted on a huge pedestal, the interior of which was to form a treasure-house for the mementoes of her reign and a Valhalla for the names of the glorious dead'.⁶⁴ Yet another critic of the scheme,

⁶² M.C. Salaman, 'Sir Thomas Brock's Queen Victoria Memorial,' *Studio*, Vol. 53 1911, p. 29-31.

⁶³ TNA: GV 2476. Diary of the Prince of Wales (George V), Friday 1 July 1910, Royal Archive, Windsor Castle.

⁶⁴ TNA: GV 2476. Letter from McDonnell to Ponsonby, 14 February 1911, Royal Archive, Windsor Castle.

the architect George Frederick Bodley, proposed that the statue of the Queen be placed on an island in St James's Park lake.⁶⁵ None of these suggestions was taken seriously by the Memorial Committee which remained firmly committed to the design already approved by the King.

At its meeting on 9 December 1901, the General Committee authorised the preparation of estimates for the memorial within a limit of £175,000. This could be increased later, with the King's approval, to the full total of the amount subscribed by the public. The General Committee and the Executive Committee were then dissolved and yet another committee was appointed by the King to superintend the carrying out of the work. This committee originally comprised Lord Esher, Lord Windsor, Lord Redesdale and Sir John Stirling Maxwell. When a Liberal Government was formed in 1906, Lewis Harcourt joined their ranks as First Commissioner of Works but the King directed that Lord Windsor (created Earl of Plymouth in 1905) should remain a member in his personal capacity.⁶⁶ It was agreed that work on site should begin on 21 July 1903. By mid-October scaffolding had been set up that would remain a feature of the London landscape until May 1911.⁶⁷ King Edward who died on 6 May 1910, did not see them removed.

The German Emperor, Wilhelm II, came to London for King Edward's funeral and asked to see how far the construction of the memorial to his grandmother had progressed. He climbed twenty five feet up the scaffolding to see the statue of the Queen and the figures of Justice, Truth and Motherhood. After studying

⁶⁵ *The Times*, 2 March 1911, p.5.

⁶⁶ TNA: GV 2476. Diary of the Prince of Wales (George V), Friday 15 July 1910, Royal Archive, Windsor Castle.

⁶⁷ Both of these publications carried illustrations of the building site: *Illustrated London News*, 24 October 1903, p. 628 & *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1 December 1903, p. 16.

Motherhood, which was on the West side facing the Palace, the Emperor concluded: 'I like that. I like that very much. But why not put in its place a statue of King Edward? The monument would then serve as a memorial to him as well as to Queen Victoria... I'll mention it to the King.'⁶⁸ The Emperor not only mentioned the idea to King George but also to King Edward's widow. Models were made for King George and Queen Mary and the Memorial Committee to mull over. The Memorial Committee did not find the effect pleasing and came to the same conclusion as the sculptor that to 'represent on the same monument a King and Queen separated from each other and looking in opposite directions was somewhat lacking in dignity.'⁶⁹ On 1 July King George and Queen Mary gave their opinions on the new models.⁷⁰ Shortly afterwards, it was decided not to proceed with the German Emperor's suggestion.⁷¹

By now the final stages of the construction were underway and all the statuary was in place. Although six bronze groups were still not ready, it was decided to go on with an unveiling without delay. Questions were being asked in Parliament and the duration of the construction was becoming a matter of public mirth.⁷² In February 1911 details of the ceremony were discussed by the committee. The idea of covering the monument in a giant Union Jack was soon agreed as impossible from both a practical and symbolic point of view, to associate the fall of the national flag with the unveiling of a great statue of Queen Victoria would be inappropriate. Nor was another suggestion of covering it with a purple cloth,

⁶⁸ This incident was mentioned in a lengthy interview with Sir Thomas Brock in the: *Morning Post*, 3 March 1913, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁹ As reported in: *Morning Post*, 3 March 1913.

⁷⁰ TNA: GV 2476. Diary of the Prince of Wales (George V), Friday 1 July 1911, Royal Archive, Windsor Castle.

⁷¹ TNA: GV 2476. Diary of the Prince of Wales (George V), Tuesday 5 July 1911, Royal Archive, Windsor Castle.

⁷² Hansard HC Deb 07 March 1910 vol 14 BL: c1283W & Sir William Collins, *Daily Mail*, 23 March 1910, p. 3.

as purple was the colour of mourning. Finally there was agreement on canvas of 'the purest white.'⁷³ On 24 April 1911 the Victoria Memorial Committee submitted a lengthy report to King George giving the history of the project, noting that: 'An attempt has been made on a large scale to treat a public memorial in an architectonic spirit; and under the auspices and largely under the initiative of King Edward, the Memorial and its surroundings might be said to be the first example in recent times of Town Planning the Metropolis.'⁷⁴

The unveiling ceremony took place at 12 noon on 16 May 1911 in the presence of hundreds of invited guests and thousands of spectators. King George and Queen Mary were accompanied on the dais by the Emperor and Empress of Germany, Princess Victoria Louise of Prussia, the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal Family. After Lord Esher had delivered an address, the King recalled that his beloved Father had watched over and guided the work with interest and close attention. Though, alas not spared to see the completion of the memorial, King Edward was more than ever in their thoughts on this day. The King continued:

The Memorial itself, alike in beauty and situation, does justice to the art of the sculptor and the skill of the architect. It now stands complete before our eyes to revive for us and to convey to our descendants, the lustre and fame which shine upon that happy age of British history when a woman's hand held for a period which almost equalled the allotted span of human life the sceptre of empire... I pray that this monument may stand forever in London to proclaim the reign of Queen Victoria and to prove to future generations the

⁷³ TNA: GV 2476. Letter from McDonnell to Ponsonby of 14 February 1911, Royal Archive, Windsor Castle.

⁷⁴ TNA: PRO WORK 20/20. Minutes of the Victoria Memorial Committee, London, 1911, pp.7-8.

sentiments of affection and reverence which Her people felt for Her and Her memory.⁷⁵

The Archbishop of Canterbury then conducted a short service of dedication and the combined choirs of St George's Chapel Windsor, the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral sang 'Our God, Our Help in Ages Past.' The King pressed an 'electric button' which released the pure white canvas hanging in front of the statue of Queen Victoria and the massed bands played the National Anthem.

The first reactions in 1911 to the newly unveiled monument seem to have been a combination of relief and euphoria that, after ten years of preparation and construction, the nation's memorial to Queen Victoria was now on public view. The press reception was mixed. Among the few who gave unreserved praise was Malcolm Salaman, writing in *Studio*:

At last we may congratulate ourselves that we have, in the centre of London town, a sculptural monument of supreme importance which British art may claim with pride. The Memorial...is a work which in its unity, dignity and nobility of conception, its large simplicity and harmonious beauty of design and its accordance with the great vital ideals of sculpture in the true structural expressiveness and the broad live modeling of natural form, is in every way worthy of its purpose as a national and imperial tribute.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ George V, *The King to his People (Speeches and Messages)*, London: Edward Arnold, 1911, p. 391.

⁷⁶ M.C. Salaman, 'Sir Thomas Brock's Queen Victoria Memorial,' *Studio*, Vol. 53, 1911, p. 29.

The Times agreed, offering praise but also recognizing that the chorus of praise would not be unanimous:

...beyond comparison the most splendid that has ever been erected to a British Sovereign. People will, of course, find fault with it... Some will say that it is more foreign than English...that the colossal scale of the central statue does not suggest the proportions of Queen Victoria who so wonderfully combined great dignity with a short stature. Others, again, may fail to interpret some of the symbolism, or think the gilded Victory a little too conspicuous.⁷⁷

The Times saw little substance in any criticism; what the empire and its people had wanted was a great monument on a great scale: 'The monument delivered expressed with sufficient poetry and dexterity symbolic ideas which, without being commonplace, could be commonly understood.' The Victoria Memorial was on the whole successful in expressing in a direct, intelligible and yet imaginative way the ideas associated with Victoria's reign.⁷⁸

Thomas Brock gave a full description of the symbolism and the precise allegorical meaning of the various figures on the monument in an interview with *The Times* on 15 May 1911. He began by summing up his overall theme:

I felt first that I must begin by giving what I thought was the true foundation upon which the Throne must rest and so it occurred to me that there should be a large raised platform surrounded by walls containing fountains and great basins into which the fountains

⁷⁷ *The Times*, 17 May 1911, p.12.

⁷⁸ *The Times*, 17 May 1911, p.12 and was supported in this judgement by the: *Cheltenham Looker-On*, 23 September 1911, p. 13; *Tamworth Herald*, 20 May 1911, p. 5 & *Cornishman*, 1 June 1911, p. 4.

discharged. This would suggest the maritime greatness of the empire.⁷⁹

He then went on to say how he had used mermaids and tritons to carry the maritime message on to the viewer. The base too was emblematic. Courage and wisdom were emphasised, the Navy and Army representing courage, both reclining allegorical figures on one side of the fountains and on the other side Science and Art, representing intelligence. 'On the right,' one report ran, was 'a figure of Peace and on the left a figure of Progress; and at the back, facing the Palace, figures Of Labour, Agriculture and Manufacture.' These, the sculptor explained, 'would represent all the qualities of the nation upon which Monarchy must depend for its security.'⁸⁰

In the centre of all this, of course, was the figure of Victoria seated and facing the 'heart of the great city' (Figure 41.):

On the right of the great pedestal I placed a group of Justice and on the left a group of Truth. I felt that she was just and that she sought the truth always and in all circumstances. At the back I placed a group of Motherhood, symbolising her great love for her people.⁸¹

⁷⁹ *The Times*, 15 May 1911, p. 8.

⁸⁰ *The Times*, 15 May 1911, p. 8. See also: *Morning Post*, 17 May 1911, which seemed to take much of the information from *The Times*' interview and re-mould it.

⁸¹ *The Times*, 15 May 1911, p. 8. See also: C. Hibbert, *A Guide to Royal London*, Pan Macmillan, London, 1987, p. 92.



Figure 41. 'Victoria Memorial,' Figure of Victoria One, Queen's Gardens, Buckingham Palace, London, dedicated 1911. Author's own photograph.

Queen Victoria sits on a massive white marble pedestal, enthroned in a decoratively carved niche with a scalloped top. The scallop having, since the Middle Ages in Britain, represented the spirit of pilgrimage. Depicted as she appeared at the time of the Diamond Jubilee the statue has a simplicity of line, curve and mass and a distinctively Baroque beauty that contrasts with much of the New Sculpture style of the other figures on the monument. An imperial Victoria sits staring directly ahead, in her coronet; robes of state; hands holding both orb and sceptre. It is a colossal and majestic figure, 5.5 metres tall. Whereas the Calcutta statue has her leaned back and almost relaxed, she is portrayed as all business here, leaning slightly forward, seated confidently on her throne, surveying her domain and purposely staring down the Mall towards the heart of

London. There are subtle imperial touches, like two small lion heads that just peek out from under her voluminous gown and the way the base on which her throne rests features the prows of ancient Roman galleys, adorned with festoons of laurel and oak, which almost seem to tumble out of the marble mass.

The Morning Post conceded that the memorial in general and the statue of Victoria in particular were sure to be extremely popular, as they comprised all the factors that appeal to national pride and sentiment, presented with a power hitherto absent in British monumental sculpture. On the other hand, *The Architectural Review*, which had criticised the initial design when it had been placed on public display in 1901, liked the final product even less. 'The *Architectural Review*'s verdict was that London had ended up with, 'an Italian Renaissance type concoction with a plethora of bad detail.' However, they did find the figure of the Queen to be regal and imposing and Courage was 'very finely grouped, strong in its lines.'⁸²

The *Builder* disliked the allegorical figures:

We cannot profess to have been quite satisfied either with the central architectural feature, which is rather commonplace in design and detail, or with the marble groups which are attached to its four faces; that on the west side [Motherhood] is the most successful but all of them are rather heavy in design and want that *je ne sais quoi* which only French sculptors seem able to impart to allegorical designs of this kind.⁸³ (Figure 42.)

⁸² *The Morning Post*, 18 June 1911, p. 3 & *Architectural Review*, June 1911, pp. 351-2.

⁸³ *Builder*, 1 January 1915, p. 2.



Figure 42.
'Victoria
Memorial,'
Figure of
Motherhood,
Queen's
Gardens,
Buckingham
Palace, London,
dedicated 1911.
Author's own
photograph.

Roger Fry in *The Nation* referred to the memorial's turgid and flamboyant rhetoric, worn-out symbolism and laboured allegory.⁸⁴ Even George V may have been a little disappointed, when Edwin Lutyens called on him in March 1912 to discuss the design of the new buildings for Delhi, the King referred instead to the proposed memorial to his father, acidly saying 'I want no f***** Angel of Victory.'⁸⁵

⁸⁴ *The Nation*, 17 May 1911, p. 4. Not surprisingly, this was the description that also most appealed to and was quoted in: *Reynolds's News*, 18 May 1911, p. 3.

⁸⁵ C. Hussey, *Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, ACC Distribution, London, 1985, p. 247.

In sum, if the memorial was criticised for its conventional imagery, there was also a growing appreciation of its importance as a symbol of the monarchy. It achieved the two objectives sought by King Edward - it provided a suitable background for the pageantry that he loved and it brought Buckingham Palace out of the seclusion of Queen Victoria's days.⁸⁶ In his study of the major historical monuments of London Ian Nairn makes a similar point:

Separately and considered in the abstract; [we see] an overloaded arch, a pleasant straight avenue and Brock's Benefit of Edwardian pomp and circumstance at the other end. Together and endowed with knowledge of their function...they become a great formal gesture... The Champs Elysees and other academic layouts, come miles down the list compared with this reasonable yet dramatic gesture...not a museum piece but a living exposition of 1910, calling to the Edwardian hidden in every person's character.⁸⁷

Pride of place in this attempt to give London a monumental avenue worthy of her imperial destiny was the Victoria Memorial. The aim of the work was straight forward, a dignified and graceful statue of Victoria that was a realistic portrait of the Queen as she was known to her subjects. Just as the central figure bore the unmistakable imprint of accepted iconography, so the subordinate figures were also given an acceptable character and meaning. The burly blacksmith 'Manufacture' was, it appears to me, intended to represent the dignity of labour as one of the qualities upon which the Monarchy depended. The blacksmith, with his shirtsleeves rolled up and his mighty hammer ready at hand, clearly was meant to mean business.

⁸⁶ This was the opinion of both the: *Morning Post*, 21 May 1901, p. 5 & *Daily Express*, 8 June 1901, p. 7.

⁸⁷ I. Nairn, *Nairn's London*, London: Trafalgar Square Publishing, 2002, p. 8.



Figure 43. 'Victoria Memorial,' Figure of Justice, Queen's Gardens, Buckingham Palace, London, dedicated 1911. Author's own photograph.

In the same way, that the allegories of 'Truth' and 'Justice' were intended to provide a dramatic contrast between the rather threatening figure of 'Justice,' helmeted and holding a sword and the more serene figure of 'Truth,' holding a mirror, with her breasts bare, indicating naked truth. For all her serenity, 'Truth' has the firm and steady gaze of someone who is not likely to be deceived. By her side a seated female figure pores over a long scroll, an archivist. The implication is that our deeds are being carefully recorded and it is impossible to escape the final reckoning. On the other hand, 'Justice' has her compassionate side: her sword points downward, in defensive not offensive posture and the scales of 'Justice' are held rather carelessly by a playful cherub, a sign that the last pound

of flesh will not be demanded. Significantly, 'Justice' holds the hand of a weeping woman just as Victoria did in a number of sentimental and probably fictional newspaper illustrations produced during her reign but now in stone symbolising compassion and protection of the oppressed. (Figure 43.)

Finally, in the monument's efforts to capture the spirit of Victoria, the theme of 'Motherhood' and 'the Queen's great love for her people' were once more set in stone. This time it was in the form of a subtle side statue. A serene and dignified figure sitting on an ornate chair surrounded not by adult citizens of the empire but by young children, suggesting a continued confidence in Britain's future.⁸⁸

Malcolm Salaman was one of the few critics commenting on the Victoria Memorial at its unveiling who noted that it was incomplete. It lacked, then, the six major bronze groups, two would rest on the arches over the fountain basins, while four standing figures, each 11 ft 6" (3.2 m) high, with lions in attendance, had yet to be placed on plinths. It would not be until 30 April 1924 that newspapers would finally report that the last bronze groups, Army and Navy to the South, Art and Science to the North, had 'just' been placed into position. There appears to have been no public ceremony or announcement this time; the authorities no doubt wished to avoid questions about the time it had taken to complete a monument unveiled thirteen years earlier.⁸⁹ The four massive seated figures, two male and two female, are virtually nude, with drapery lying loosely across their lower limbs. Their reclining, relaxed poses recall figures by Michelangelo. 'Army' holds a sword, 'Navy' the hull of a ship, 'Art' a palette and brushes and 'Science' a pair of dividers and a roll of plans. A massive Medusa-headed shield rests behind Army, while Science leans on a dynamo.

⁸⁸ J.M. Hunnisack, *The Sculptor Jules Dalour: Studies in his Style and Imagery*, Pan Macmillan, London, 1977, pp. 141-151.

⁸⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 30 April 1924, p. 16; *Daily Express*, 30 April 1924, p. 6. & *The Times*, 30 April 1924, p. 5.

The paramount question which troubled officials from the outset was not how to interpret the thing but just how the Victoria Memorial was to be used. Was it to be a shrine which visitors should treat with reverence like a church, or was it to be (as it later became) a popular rallying point for viewing royal occasions?⁹⁰ Not surprisingly, the initial view was one of extreme caution. Writing to the King's Private Secretary on 5 May 1911, a few days before the memorial was unveiled, Schomberg McDonnell expressed concern:

If the Memorial is open from an early hour, it will be invaded by a crowd of people at the Mounting of the Guard who, far from wishing to look at the Memorial, will turn their backs on it and will swarm up the steps in order to look into the [Palace] forecourt...⁹¹

The King's Private Secretary appears to have agreed with this view and not only were posts and chains put into position to control public access but park keepers were on duty during opening hours. These were initially set at noon to six p.m. to ensure that the monument was closed during the guard changing ceremony at eleven a.m. Despite these precautions, a suffragette succeeded in putting permanganate of potash into the fountains in July 1913 and in May 1914 there were reports that children were swinging on the bronze chains.⁹²

While officials were apparently insensitive to public opinion, the Royal Family were much more aware of the need to allow loyal subjects access to the monument. In 1917, following a complaint by the Office of Works that the

⁹⁰ TNA: PRO WORK 20/224. Letter from Schomberg McDonnell to Lord Stamfordham, 15 May 1911.

⁹¹ TNA: PRO WORK 20/224. Letter from Schomberg McDonnell to Lord Stamfordham, 5 May 1911.

⁹² TNA: PRO WORK 20/224. Minute of 15 July 1913 and 15 May 1914.

police had allowed public access to the memorial during two recent royal occasions, the Commissioner of Police replied:

On 2 July 1917, a few minutes after the open air investiture in the forecourt of the Palace had begun, a verbal message from Her Majesty the Queen was brought to the police by a page, stating that it was the King's wish that the public should be admitted to the steps of the Memorial, the better to view the ceremony.

There must have been a considerable behind the scenes battle between the Royal household and the Office of Works over this issue. However, the King's decision was clear in the instructions that he issued to the police on 2 July and yet on 15 August he had to make it clear once again:

...on 15 August 1917, when the King took the salute at a march past of newly arrived American troops, the police were informed by the Acting Master of the Household that it was the King's Command that the public were to be admitted.⁹³

These royal gestures caused a shock wave in the Office of Works. Sir Lionel Earle wrote to the King's Private Secretary on 11 September 1917:

In view of the possible damage that may be done to the Memorial, I think it is only right that His Majesty know of the danger that may occur through the King's proverbial kind-heartedness towards the general public.

⁹³ TNA: PRO WORK 20/224. Memorandum of 5 September 1917. See also: *Daily Express*, 16 August 1917, p. 2.

The reply came promptly:

The King of course recognises the danger... His Majesty however would be sorry not to allow the public to use all these vantage points - but thinks if the police were given timely notice they should be able to prevent any future damage.⁹⁴

The principal of public access was established but even so was not always put into effect. During the march past by holders of the Victoria Cross on 26 July 1920, the King noticed that the memorial was closed to the public and commanded that it be opened.⁹⁵ In July 1929 the Office of Works ruled that it should always be open to the public on 'special occasions' and when a new Permanent Secretary questioned this in 1934, he was told that the Police preferred to allow access rather than try to keep the public out.⁹⁶

In 1946, when Harold Macmillan, then a backbench MP, wrote to ask that the memorial be protected from damage by the public on the anniversary of VE Day, an Under Secretary minuted that 'a little statue climbing (at least of the more robust and less valuable statues) is a traditional part of these national celebrations'.⁹⁷

It has remained so since, as Steven Brindle has observed:

⁹⁴ TNA: PRO WORK 20/224. Letter from the Commissioner of Police to the Office of Works 1 July 1929.

⁹⁵ Daily Mail, 26 July 1920, p. 4. See also: TNA: PRO WORK 20/224. Minutes of 4 July 1929 and July 1934.

⁹⁶ TNA: PRO WORK 20/224. Minutes by Proctor of 21 May 1946.

⁹⁷ *Telegraph*, 29 July 1946, p. 7. See also: Minutes by Proctor of 21 May 1946, TNA: PRO WORK 20/224.

The Victoria Memorial scheme [Monument and Mall] remains one of the finest, perhaps the finest, piece of grand city-planning in Britain and one of the best in Europe. The Memorial scheme greatly enhanced the architectural setting of the Crown and it has been the essential backdrop to royal and national occasions ever since. Few places in Britain are more charged with meaning than the Monument and The Mall.⁹⁸

This memorial to the Queen in London, along with its very substantial counterpart in Calcutta and the many, many smaller ones around the British world, served many purposes for the people who planned and executed them. Many were intended to be lessons in bronze and stone, not just reminders of Victoria's physical image. They were placed in the most prominent of places for as many people as possible to see and so to keep her example of a virtuous life at the centre of public discourse. At the same time, those who planned them surely also wanted to keep alive the memory of the Victorian Age with its sense of stability and progress. Mixed in with these was a desire to speak to both present and future generations of their own community's prosperity and loyalty. With this in mind, the statues they eventually erected were, with few exceptions, all regal, severe, towering monoliths and a much magnified remembrance of what had in reality only ever been a small, stout woman who had in her lifetime been considered by many as a mother and a friend. These two images were not however, mutually exclusive and in the years after her death, it is likely that men and women saw in the memorials to Victoria both a reminder of the Queen they had mourned and the woman they imagined her to be.

⁹⁸ S. Brindle, *Sir Aston Webb and the Victoria Memorial*, English Heritage, London, 2000, p. 12.

Conclusion

From 1897 to 1930 Queen Victoria turned from flesh and bone to bronze and stone. She gained charisma from 1897 to 1901 from the public impact of two major events, her Diamond Jubilee celebrations and her death and funeral. The level of celebrity she achieved, in turn, led to widespread commemoration efforts of her life across the British world. By looking at the effect of these two key events in Britain and disparate imperial locales, I have demonstrated how the different ways groups participated in them added to the construction and dissemination of Victoria's image and memory. The myth of Victoria was not the product of a single group of imperial propagandists but rather the property of many.

Victoria symbolised values thought to reside outside of the market place but, ironically, her image was also a product of it. Advertisers, newspaper editors and even theatre operators, all played their role in the creation of her image as much as the politicians and government officials. She was at times miniaturised and at others aggrandised by marketers and media. The watershed was the Diamond Jubilee, when Victoria's image was put on biscuit tins, posters, the stage and on every kind of souvenir and publication imaginable. Surprisingly, this over exposure did not diminish the image of the Queen; instead it gave by association with her an importance to even the most trivial object. It changed the relationship between subject and sovereign. Victoria was now embedded in a world of things to be collected, things for sale, she was a product as well as a Queen, her subjects now also her consumers. From 1897 onwards Victoria was not just a Queen but also a unique celebrity brand, full of contradictions, both intimately known, purchasable in any shop and yet still remote and untouchable.

Representations of Victoria were, on the surface, remarkably similar from Sydney to Salisbury. Indeed, identical copies of statues stood in cities continents away from each other. At the turn of the twentieth century the image of Victoria stood at the centre of public and private remembering in Britain and across the empire. In public her image was the centrepiece of expensive public projects aimed at constructing a public memory of an imagined community of empire. In private, in British and colonial homes, she was preserved in personal memory through small inexpensive souvenirs and keepsakes.

Victoria sat on the British throne in an age in which female allegorical symbols assumed great importance. With the rise of nationalism many states had turned to new symbols and some of the most potent were feminine. For Britain and the British Empire, where unity and connectedness existed for the most part in the imagination, a potent symbol and distinctive figure such as Victoria gave it shape. Unlike the allegorical female figures of other nations, Victoria was a real woman imbued with symbolic meaning and her image was more powerful because of it.

This thesis has argued that Victoria's charisma developed around two interconnected themes as the last years of her reign unfolded. The first, her depiction as a regal and imposing figure, monarch and Empress, benevolently powerful while ruling over Britain and the British Empire. This was very much an imagined Victoria and bore very little resemblance to the physical reality of a woman who disliked the trappings of royal formality and refused to wear state robes or a full crown. The imagined regal Queen was the subject of many illustrations and reflected the desire of Victorians to see their nation as the anthem said: 'happy and glorious'. Victoria, enthroned (or regally standing), often with sceptre and orb, ruling the waves and the empire, Britannia-like, was an image that they grew to rely on.

A great deal of evidence has been provided throughout this thesis of Victoria's amazing level of popularity, something that is well supported by historians of the period such as: Dorothy Thompson; Christopher Hibbert; Margaret Homans and John Mackenzie.¹ A popularity built on a foundation of belief that home, country and empire were all being ruled with strong motherly love rather than force. Images of Victoria regal and enthroned were mingled with others of her in humble settings, caring for the poor or visiting wounded soldiers. Biographies and poems, reinforced images of her humility, love of family and friends, with a boundless sympathy borne out of her own personal suffering and all illustrating the fiction that she was at once both super-woman and every-woman.

This maternal aspect of the representation of Victoria was a key factor in her symbolic potency and charisma. For many people in Britain she was at the centre of their imagined United Kingdom, unified by domestic bonds of which she was the strongest. Victoria was imagined all over the world as the essence of Britishness. The class tensions and anxieties of industrial Britain were thus obscured by an image of a home-loving Queen who loved all in her empire and in turn was loved by all. Conveniently, this maternal image of Victoria was extended to a representation of the British Empire not as a force of domination but of familial and motherly responsibility.

In Britain, Victoria's image was an expression of British national identity. Across the empire the symbolism of the Queen was a matter of debate and contestation as people wrestled with issues such as national self-determination and their place in the imperial order. In Ireland, the late Victorian era saw the emergence of a nationalist discourse, as sections of the local population began to argue for independence and to conceive an alternative independent future for Ireland. We can see the confusion in this complex process by contrasting the negative reaction to the Diamond Jubilee on the streets of

¹ D. Thompson, *Queen Victoria: A Woman on the Throne*, Virago, London, 1990. C. Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History*, Harper Collins, London, 2000. M. Homans, *Royal Representations, Queen Victoria & British Culture, 1837-1876*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998. J.M. Mackenzie, (ed.), *The Victorian Vision*, V&A Publications, London, 2001.

Dublin in 1897 and then the positive sincerity of grieving Dublin crowds that flocked to churches in 1901 to mourn her and pray for Victoria's soul.

Australian nationalists were also engaged in constructing a very different national identity. Most Australian residents saw their nation as quintessentially white and British in character, with its best hopes for the future lying within an empire that, thanks to Queen Victoria, they viewed as a benevolent and protective family. Moreover, the majority Anglo-Saxon population perceived any weakening of Australia's Britishness as a threat to the kind of country that they were trying to fashion and showed it in displays of loyalty on the streets on Sydney and around the harbour in 1897 and again in 1901. The Australian ascendancy, found in the figure of Queen Victoria a personification of the ties that bound Australia and Britain together. Ties which were enshrined in the memorial ceremonies and speeches that took place across all the capitol cities of the newly federated states. Victoria was physically inscribed on the Australian landscape, in the form of street and place names, public parks, buildings and statues.

In a time of rapid change Queen Victoria came to represent continuity and stability. She had been part of history and in her later years even seemed to transcend it. Victoria was repeatedly depicted in the media as bearing the timeless essence of Britishness: moral, humble and domestic. Her Diamond Jubilee was celebrated as the apotheosis of British social, financial and technological progress. The Queen, with her humility, sense of duty and virtue, was seen as a bulwark against a decline of national and imperial pride into decadence and moral turpitude. In Britain, she bore the imprint of the past and her death was perceived by many not just as the death of a person but the death of an era and the beginning of a time of uncertainty.

Amidst this atmosphere of uncertainty, towns and cities throughout Britain and across the empire commissioned statues of Victoria. As we have seen, in many cases they were

attempts not only to give thanks and pay homage to a glorious past but also attempts to express pride in the present and secure the future. In this sense we have seen that these monuments were as much about those doing the memorializing as the figure they memorialized. This was equally true of the two imperial-projects of the time, the Imperial Memorial in London and the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta. Though a world away from each other, both were ambitious and expensive schemes involving a combination of architecture and sculpture and both were designed to change the very dynamics of the cities in which they stood. Both still stand today. Their physical contexts have not changed but they now exist in completely different worlds where their significance and meaning have shifted dramatically.

Over time, the monuments and the narrative have faded into the fabric of the landscape, and now most have disappeared and no one sees them anymore even though they are right in front of our eyes. What finally remains are for those that care to look. This thesis has shown that for historians it is worth looking. Not only do monuments provide a capsule statement of the values of an age but also a window onto the social processes that led to their conception and construction. Detailed here are the efforts of aristocrats and ordinary 'subjects' of royal authority; officials - high and low - and capitalists, large and small. The methodology used has combined archival research and minute scrutiny of public accounts at the same time as drawing upon theories that illustrate the place of public art and commemoration in the public sphere. It is hoped that this kind of rubric will be applicable to other monuments, commemorations and social processes.

One elegy among thousands in 1901 referred to Victoria as a Colossal woman of an epoch past. In reality, very small of stature, she was the physical opposite. Yet she was colossal in the weight and size of her public profile and in the symbolic load that her image had to bear. Until the First World War and perhaps even for some time beyond, Queen Victoria represented an epoch past, an ideal vision of womanhood, Englishness and an entire

empire at its peak. At the same time, on the personal level, she was loved and in some places even worshipped for her contrasting ordinariness. She seemed an intimate friend to many members of the public who, in reality, could never hope to meet her. It was from this bedrock that she was transformed into monumental Victoria who, throughout Britain and the British world, had projected on to her many changing meanings.

The journey of Queen Victoria's image from flesh and bone to bronze and stone began in earnest with her transformation during the Diamond Jubilee, an imperial festival created and shaped as much by the marketplace as the by the palace. Meaning was attached both to the anniversary and to the Queen herself by official, commercial culture and popular expectation. Then the next big step was the unprecedented public response to her death in 1901. From the public reaction it can be seen what she had come to represent in the minds of men and women across Britain and the empire. The final step came after her funeral when local, national and colonial communities, as well as elites built monument after monument to their dead Queen from 1897 through to the 1930s. These memorials were meant to mark the significance of so great a loss and at the same time represent the social unity, prosperity and loyalty of British and colonial communities that built them and because of that they are everywhere the British world is or used to be. Victoria is quoted as once saying, *'Everybody grows but me.'*² This thesis has demonstrated just how wrong she was.

² H. Rappaport, *Queen Victoria: A Biographical Companion*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, 2003, p. 384.

Archives

Brighton & Hove Libraries:

BAH: Programme for the Unveiling Ceremony, Queen Victoria, 9 February 1901, Jubilee Library Rare Book Collection, 942.08.

British Library:

BL: 'Our Queen in Memoriam,' London: Horace Marshall, 1901, British Library.

BL: 10806.dd.8.(2), P.X. Eldridge, Our Mother-Queen A sermon preached on the occasion of the death of Queen Victoria. London: Vacher & Sons, 1901.

BL: 1865.c.8.(72) Inman, M. C., In Memoriam V. R. I. (A Valedictum on our late Most Gracious Sovereign, Victoria, R. I. [Verses, signed: Mary C. Inman.]), Oxford, 1901.

BL: 1901.a.1.(94*) The Children's memorial Card of 'The Great Queen Mother' In Everloving Memory: Victoria, Queen and Empress, Sunday School Union, London, 1901.

BL: George V, The King to his People (Speeches and Messages), London: Edward Arnold, 1911.

BL: HC Deb 07 March 1910 vol 14 c1283W, Sir William Collins.

BL: HC Deb 25 April 1899 vol 70 c515, 'Statue of Oliver Cromwell.'

BL: The Children's memorial Card of 'The Great Queen Mother' In Everloving Memory: Victoria, Queen and Empress. London: Sunday School Union, 1901.

BL: YA.1997.a.1766, Burnett, A.G., Our late Queen Victoria : a sermon preached in Kemnay Chapel on Sunday afternoon February 3rd 1901. Aberdeen: James Murray, 1901.

Blackburn Libraries Local Collection:

BLC: QVMF.127, Queen Victoria Memorial Fund - List of Subscriptions 1901-1905, Blackburn.

Carmarthenshire Archive Service:

CAC: ESHR 7/14, Esher, General Journals 1901.

CAC: ESHR Esher Journals, 2/10, February 1901.

CAC: ESHR Esher Journals, 2/10, March 1901.

CAC: ESHR W38, Assorted Papers, 1901.

Churchill Archives Centre, Churchill College, Cambridge:

CCC: Esher Papers, 2/10, 25 Jan. 1901.

Corporation of London Record Office:

CLRO: Queen Victoria Memorial Fund, Final Statement of Accounts, undated.

Cambridge University Library:

CUL: RCMS 54/2/3, Lorne, Imperial Federation, a letter from Lorne to Sir Frederick Young, 10 April 1884, Young Papers, Cambridge.

Hove Public Library:

HPL: Order of the Unveiling Ceremony, 4 February 1901.

Local History Section of Leeds Central Library:

LCL: VCR/a27 Victoria RI, Queen and Empress. Official Programme and Illustrative Souvenir of the Unveiling of the Queen Victoria Memorial Statue, Leeds: 1905.

Lambeth Palace Library:

LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.17., Davidson Papers.

LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.17., King to Davidson, 24 January 1901.

LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.17., Letter from Davidson to Boyd Carpenter, 26 January, 1901.

LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.23., Davidson to the King, 25 February 1901.

LPL: DavP 19/101, fo.23., King to Davidson, 23 February 1901.

LPL: DavP 19/101B, R. Davidson, Davidson Papers, Davidson to Mrs Davidson, 21 January 1901.

LPL: DavP 19/506, fos. 12-13, William Sinclair to Davidson.

LPL: DavP 4, fo.45., Davidson Papers, Ponsonby to Davidson, 6 March 1885.

LPL: R.T. Davidson, *From Strength to Strength*, London: 1910.

National Art Library, London:

NAL: MSL 1980/97, Letter from the King, 18 June 1901, Thomas Brock 1900-14, Victoria & Albert Museum, National Art Library, London.

NAL: MSL 1980/97, Letter to Lord Alverstone, 23 May 1901, Thomas Brock 1900-14, Victoria & Albert Museum, National Art Library, London.

National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations:

NUA: 4/1/1 Minutes of the National Union Executive Committee, 16 April 1897, Apr. 1897-July 1911, Conservative Party Archive: National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

Royal Archive, Windsor Castle:

RAW: GV 2476, Diary of the Prince of Wales (George V), Friday 15 July 1910.

RAW: GV 2476: Letter from McDonnell to Ponsonby, 14 February 1911.

RAW: VIC/F 23/1, Funeral instructions, Memorandum 25 October 1897.

RAW: VIC/F 23/2, LC Collected Private Memoranda, Queen's Funeral, January 1901.

RAW: VIC/F 23/2, Royal Archive, Windsor Castle, Burial of the Dead: St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, 2 February 1901.

RAW: VIC/F 23/2, Supplement to Funeral instructions 25 January 1898.

Southport Library Collection, Lancashire:

SLC: S718 TAY, Financial Sub-Committee Meeting, Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book, Southport, 16 September 1901.

SLC: S718 TAY, Memorial Committee Meeting, 8 April 1902; 29 July, 3 February 1903, Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book, Southport.

SLC: S718 TAY, Notice of Meeting, 20 May 1901, Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book, Southport.

SLC: S718 TAY, Queen Victoria Memorial Minute Book, 12 February, Southport, 1903.

The National Archive, Kew:

TNA: GV 2476, Diary of the Prince of Wales (George V), Friday 15 July 1910, Royal Archive, Windsor Castle.

TNA: GV 2476: Letter from McDonnell to Ponsonby, 14 February 1911, Royal Archive, Windsor Castle.

TNA: PRO CO 132, Minutes of meeting 23 January 1901, Queen Victoria's Funeral, No. 17.

TNA: PRO CO 132, Notes: Queen Victoria's Funeral, No.17.

TNA: PRO CO 132, Queen Victoria's Funeral, No.17; RA, LC Funeral Queen Victoria, Letters Received, No's. 50-53, Norfolk to Clarendon, 24 January 1901.

TNA: PRO CO 132, Queen Victoria's Funeral, No.17; RA, LC Funeral Queen Victoria, Letters Received, No's. 50-53, Norfolk to Clarendon, 24 January, 1901.

TNA: PRO CO 323/421, General Correspondence, 'Diamond Jubilee 1897', Memorandum for Chamberlain, the author's signature is illegible, 18 January, 1897.

TNA: PRO CO 323/421, General Correspondence, Memorandum circulated to Colonial Office departments, 14 January 1897.

TNA: PRO CO 323/421, Memorandum, 14 January 1897.

TNA: PRO CO 323/421, Memorandum, Circulated to Colonial Office Departments. General Correspondence, 14 January 1897.

TNA: PRO COPY 1/133, No. 90, Copyright records, 1897.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/16, Home Office Minutes & Correspondence January & February 1897.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/16, Sessional Papers 1897, London: House of Commons, Vol. LIX.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18, Letter from Queen's Private Secretary to Home Office, 27 January 1897.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18, Letter from the Queen's Private Secretary to Sir Arthur Bigge, 29 January 1897.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18, Letter from the Queen's Private Secretary to the Prince of Wales, 30 January 1897.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18, Letter from the Queen's Private Secretary to the Prince of Wales, 30 January 1897.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/18, Letter to the Queen's private secretary from the Home Office, 4 February 1897.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/19, Letter from Queen's private secretary to Home Office, 11 February 1897.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9911/B21471A/1A, Sir Arthur Bigge, Victoria's private secretary, October 1896.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9912/B21471D, 'Address from Women of Great Britain and the Colonies,' 21 June 1897, in Home Office Minutes.

TNA: PRO HO 45/9912/B21471D, Sir Arthur Bigge.

TNA: PRO LC 2/137, First Minutes Book of Diamond Jubilee Committee, 2 February 1897.

TNA: PRO LC 2/137, Minutes from the first meeting of Planning Committee, 2 February 1897.

TNA: PRO LC 2/137, Minutes from the Planning Committee, 24 February 1897.

TNA: PRO LC 2/140, General Correspondence.

TNA: PRO LC 2/140, Minutes & correspondence of the Main Organizing Committee's - Service - Sub-Committee.

TNA: PRO LC 2/140, Minutes 24 February 1897.

TNA: PRO WORK 19/52, Notes: Queen Victoria Memorial Committee London, 4 July 1901.

TNA: PRO WORK 20/20, Minutes of the Victoria Memorial Committee, London, 1911.

TNA: PRO WORK 20/20, The Report of Queen Victoria Memorial Committee (VMC), March 1911.

TNA: PRO WORK 20/224, Letter from Schomberg McDonnell to Lord Stamfordham, 5 May 1911.

TNA: PRO WORK 20/224, Letter from the Commissioner of Police to the Office of Works 1 July 1929.

TNA: PRO WORK 20/224, Minute of 15 July 1913 and 15 May 1914.

TNA: PRO WORK 20/224, Minutes by Proctor of 21 May 1946.

TNA: PRO WORK 20/224, Minutes of 4 July 1929 and July 1934.

TNA: PRO WORK 21/34/2, Funeral route and procession, 1901.

Tyne and Wear Archives Service, Newcastle:

TWA: T179/472, Queen Victoria Memorial Fund Committee Minutes, 8 February 1911.

TWA: T179/472, South Shields Memorial Fund Minute Book, 16 May 1901, County Borough of South Shields, Newcastle.

TWA: T179/472, South Shields Memorial Fund Minute Book, 6 August 1908, County Borough of South Shields, Newcastle.

TWA: T179/512, South Shields Memorial Fund Minute Book, 9 December 1912; 21 April; 2 May, 1913, County Borough of South Shields, Newcastle.

TWA: T179/596 Unveiling of the Statue of Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria, Official Programme, County Borough of South Shields, Newcastle.

Newspapers & Periodicals

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| <i>Aberdeen Journal</i> | Aberdeen | Scotland | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Academy</i> | London | England | 1889 |
| <i>Academy Architecture</i> | London | England | 1901 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Adelaide Advertiser</i> | Adelaide | Australia | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Age</i> | Melbourne | Australia | 1897 |
| <i>Alnwick Mercury</i> | Alnwick | England | 1879 |
| <i>Anglo Celt</i> | Cavan | Ireland | 1897 |
| <i>Anglo Saxon</i> | Ottawa | Canada | 1897 |
| <i>Architect</i> | London | England | 1902 |
| <i>Architectural Review</i> | London | England | 1901-1911 |
| <i>Architecture</i> | London | England | 1901-1902 |
| <i>Argus</i> | Melbourne | Australia | 1901 |
| <i>Art Journal</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Art Union</i> | London | England | 1886 |
| <i>Bangkok Post</i> | Bangkok | Thailand | 2011 |
| <i>Barrier Miner</i> | Broken Hill | Australia | 1897 |
| <i>Bath Chronicle & Weekly Gazette</i> | Bath | England | 1821-1901 |
| <i>Bathurst Free Press & Mining Journal</i> | Bathurst | Australia | 1897 |
| <i>Belfast News Letter</i> | Belfast | Ireland | 1897 |
| <i>Black and White</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Blackburn Daily Telegraph</i> | Blackburn | England | 1905 |
| <i>Blackburn Times</i> | Blackburn | England | 1901 |
| <i>Blackburn Weekly Telegraph</i> | Blackburn | England | 1905 |
| <i>Border Watch</i> | Mount Gambier | Australia | 1897 |
| <i>Brighton Herald</i> | Brighton & Hove | England | 1901 |
| <i>Brisbane Courier</i> | Brisbane | Australia | 1897-1901 |
| <i>British Architect</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>British Columbian</i> | New Westminster | Canada | 1897 |
| <i>Bucks Herald</i> | Aylesbury | England | 1897 |
| <i>Builder</i> | London | England | 1901-1921 |
| <i>Building News</i> | London | England | 1901 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>Cardiff Times</i> | Cardiff | Wales | 1901 |
| <i>Carlisle Express and Examiner</i> | Carlisle | Scotland | 1901-1902 |
| <i>Carlisle Journal</i> | Carlisle | Scotland | 1901-1906 |
| <i>Charleville Times</i> | Brisbane | Australia | 1902 |
| <i>Cheltenham Looker-On</i> | Cheltenham | England | 1897-1911 |
| <i>Cheshire Observer</i> | Chester | England | 1887 |
| <i>Christian World</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Cornishman</i> | Penzance | England | 1911 |
| <i>Coventry Evening Telegraph</i> | Coventry | England | 1901 |
| <i>Daily Express</i> | London | England | 1900 |
| <i>Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough</i> | Middlesbrough | England | 1896-1897 |
| <i>Daily Mail</i> | London | England | 1897-1910 |
| <i>Daily News</i> | Perth | Australia | 1903 |
| <i>Daily Telegraph</i> | Sydney | Australia | 1901 |
| <i>Dawn</i> | Sydney | Australia | 1901 |
| <i>De Zuid-Afrikaan</i> | Cape Town | South Africa | 1901 |
| <i>Der Burenkrieg</i> | Berlin | Germany | 1901 |
| <i>Derby Daily Telegraph</i> | Derby | England | 1941 |
| <i>Derby Mercury</i> | Derby | England | 1897 |
| <i>Derbyshire Times & Chesterfield Herald</i> | Derby | England | 1897 |
| <i>Dundee Courier</i> | Dundee | Scotland | 1897 |
| <i>Edinburgh Evening News</i> | Edinburgh | Scotland | 1897 |
| <i>English Woman's Domestic Magazine</i> | London | England | 1853 |
| <i>English Woman's Review</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Englishman</i> | Calcutta | India | 1901-1926 |
| <i>Era</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Evening Telegraph</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Exeter Flying Post</i> | Exeter | England | 1893 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Falkirk Herald</i> | Grangemouth | Scotland | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Fortnightly Review</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Fraser's Magazine for Town & Country</i> | London | England | 1882 |
| <i>Freeman's Journal</i> | Dublin | Ireland | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Friend of India & Statesman</i> | Calcutta | India | 1902 |
| <i>Gentlewoman</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Glasgow Herald</i> | Glasgow | Scotland | 1896 |
| <i>Globe</i> | Toronto | Canada | 1897 |
| <i>Gloucester Citizen</i> | Gloucester | England | 1901 |
| <i>Graphic</i> | London | England | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Hampshire Telegraph</i> | Southampton | England | 1897 |
| <i>Harper's Bazaar</i> | New York | USA | 1886 |
| <i>Hastings & St Leonards Observer</i> | Hastings | England | 1901 |
| <i>Hong Kong Herald</i> | Victoria | Hong Kong | 1901 |
| <i>Hove Echo</i> | Brighton & Hove | England | 1896-1901 |
| <i>Hull Daily Mail</i> | Hull | England | 1901 |
| <i>Illustrated London News</i> | London | England | 1852-1902 |
| <i>Illustrated Police News</i> | London | England | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Independent</i> | London | England | 2005 |
| <i>Indian Spectator</i> | Bombay | India | 1897 |
| <i>Irish Independent</i> | Dublin | Ireland | 1931 |
| <i>Irish Times</i> | Dublin | Ireland | 1897 |
| <i>King</i> | London | England | 1900 |
| <i>Ladies Edinburgh Magazine</i> | Edinburgh | Scotland | 1878 |
| <i>Lady</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Lady's Pictorial</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Lancet</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Launceston Examiner</i> | Launceston | Australia | 1897 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|-----------|
| <i>Leader</i> | Melbourne | Australia | 1901-1907 |
| <i>Leeds & Yorkshire Mercury</i> | Leeds | England | 1903 |
| <i>Leeds Mercury</i> | Leeds | England | 1899-1901 |
| <i>Leeds Times</i> | Leeds | England | 1901 |
| <i>Lichfield Mercury</i> | Lichfield | England | 1901 |
| <i>Lincolnshire Echo</i> | Lincoln | England | 1897 |
| <i>Liverpool Mercury</i> | Liverpool | England | 1897 |
| <i>Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper</i> | London | England | 1897-1901 |
| <i>London Daily News</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>London Standard</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Lyttleton Times</i> | Christchurch | New Zealand | 1903-1904 |
| <i>Manawatu Times</i> | Palmerston North | New Zealand | 1907 |
| <i>Manchester City News</i> | Manchester | England | 1901 |
| <i>Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser</i> | Manchester | England | 1888-1907 |
| <i>Manchester Evening News</i> | Manchester | England | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Manchester Guardian</i> | Manchester | England | 1901-1907 |
| <i>Marlborough Express</i> | Leicester | England | 1906 |
| <i>Meath Chronicle</i> | Navan | Ireland | 1897 |
| <i>Mercury</i> | Hobart | Australia | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Morning Bulletin</i> | Rockhampton | Australia | 1897 |
| <i>Morning Citizen</i> | Ottawa | Canada | 1901 |
| <i>Morning Post</i> | Cairns | Australia | 1904 |
| <i>Morning Post</i> | London | England | 1852-1901 |
| <i>Motherwell Times</i> | Motherwell | England | 1897 |
| <i>Nation</i> | Dublin | Ireland | 1897 |
| <i>Nation Review</i> | London | England | 1890 |
| <i>New Zealand Illustrated Magazine</i> | Auckland | New Zealand | 1903 |

| | | | |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Newbury Weekly News</i> | Newbury | England | 1903 |
| <i>Newcastle Courant</i> | Tyne & Wear | England | 1895 |
| <i>Norfolk Chronicle</i> | Norwich | England | 1852 |
| <i>North Devon Journal</i> | Barnstaple | England | 1901 |
| <i>North Wales Chronicle</i> | Bangor | Wales | 1901 |
| <i>Northampton Mercury</i> | Northampton | England | 1897 |
| <i>Northern Daily Telegraph</i> | Blackburn | England | 1901 |
| <i>Northern Echo</i> | Durham | England | 1896 |
| <i>Ottawa Citizen</i> | Ottawa | Canada | 1897 |
| <i>Ottawa Journal</i> | Ottawa | Canada | 1897 |
| <i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> | London | England | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Penny Illustrated Paper</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Pioneer Mail & Indian Weekly News</i> | Allahabad | India | 1901-1925 |
| <i>Portsmouth Evening News</i> | Portsmouth | England | 1897 |
| <i>Quarterly Review</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Queen</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Queenslander</i> | Brisbane | Australia | 1901-1906 |
| <i>Reading Mercury</i> | Reading | England | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Register</i> | Adelaide | Australia | 1901 |
| <i>Review of Reviews</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Reynolds's News</i> | London | England | 1895-1901 |
| <i>Saturday Review</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Scotsman</i> | Edinburgh | Scotland | 1901 |
| <i>Sheffield Daily Telegraph</i> | Sheffield | England | 1901-1905 |
| <i>Sheffield Weekly Independent</i> | Sheffield | England | 1901-1904 |
| <i>Sheffield Weekly News</i> | Sheffield | England | 1904-1905 |
| <i>Shields Daily Gazette</i> | Tyne & Wear | England | 1901 |
| <i>Singleton Argus</i> | Singleton | Australia | 1901 |

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Sketch</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>South Australian Register</i> | Adelaide | Australia | 1897 |
| <i>South Wales Daily News</i> | Cardiff | Wales | 1901 |
| <i>Southern Star</i> | Dublin | Ireland | 1901 |
| <i>Southport Guardian</i> | Southport | England | 1901 |
| <i>Southport Visitor</i> | Southport | England | 1901-1904 |
| <i>Speaker</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Spectator</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Sphere</i> | London | England | 1901-1902 |
| <i>Spy</i> | London | England | 1905 |
| <i>St. James Budget</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Star</i> | Guernsey | England | 1886 |
| <i>Statesman</i> | Calcutta | India | 1901-1911 |
| <i>Statesman & Friend of India</i> | Calcutta | India | 1897 |
| <i>Straits Times</i> | Singapore | Malaya | 1901-1930 |
| <i>Studio</i> | London | England | 1916 |
| <i>Sun</i> | New York | USA | 1897 |
| <i>Sunderland Daily Echo & Shipping Gazette</i> | Sunderland | England | 1891-1901 |
| <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> | Sydney | Australia | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Tablet</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Tamworth Herald</i> | Tamworth | England | 1901 |
| <i>Telegraph</i> | London | England | 1897-1901 |
| <i>The Times</i> | London | England | 1897-1911 |
| <i>Times of India</i> | Bombay | India | 1901-1926 |
| <i>Topical Times</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>Ulk</i> | Berlin | Germany | 1901 |
| <i>Vanity Fair</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Voice of India</i> | Bombay | India | 1897-1901 |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| <i>Wanganui Herald</i> | Wanganui | New Zealand | 1903 |
| <i>Weekly Times & Echo</i> | London | England | 1901 |
| <i>West Australian</i> | Perth | Australia | 1903 |
| <i>West Middlesex Advertiser & Family Journal</i> | London | England | 1873 |
| <i>Western Daily Express</i> | Bristol | England | 1897 |
| <i>Western Gazette</i> | Somerset | England | 1897 |
| <i>Western Mail</i> | Cardiff | Wales | 1901-1903 |
| <i>Western Times</i> | Devon | England | 1901 |
| <i>Windsor & Richmond Gazette</i> | Windsor | Australia | 1897 |
| <i>Woman's Exponent</i> | London | England | 1877 |
| <i>Woman's Herald</i> | London | England | 1891 |
| <i>Woman's Life</i> | London | England | 1897 |
| <i>Woman's World</i> | London | England | 1887 |
| <i>Worcester Herald</i> | Worcester | England | 1890 |
| <i>Worcestershire Chronicle</i> | Worcester | England | 1901 |
| <i>Worker</i> | Brisbane | Australia | 1901-1911 |
| <i>World of Fashion</i> | London | England | 1864 |
| <i>Wrexham Advertiser</i> | Wrexham | Wales | 1901 |
| <i>Yorkshire Evening Post</i> | Leeds | England | 1897-1901 |
| <i>Yorkshire Post</i> | Leeds | England | 1901 |

Bibliography

Acconci, V. 'Public Space in a Private Time,' W. J. T. Mitchell, (ed.), *Art and the Public Sphere*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990.

Adair, I. *Balmoral: The Hall of Memories*. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1901.

Aitken, W. F. *Victoria The Well Beloved*. London: S.W. Partridge, 1901.

- Albrecht, G. *Hie gut Brandenburg alleweg! Geschichts- und Kulturbilder aus der Vergangenheit der Mark und aus Alt-Berlin bis zum Tode des Großen Kurfürsten*. Berlin: Verlag von W. Pauli's Nachf., 1900.
- Alexander, C. F. 'Maker of Heaven and Earth,' All Things Bright and Beautiful, Stanza 3, in J.S. Smith & B. Carlson. *Great Christian Hymn Writers*. Wheatley: London, 1848.
- Alice, Princess, Countess of Athlone, *For My Grandchildren*. Cleveland: World, 1966.
- Allison, M.A. *Wandering Between Two Worlds: Middleness in Victorian Literature and Culture*. Berkley: University of California, 2007.
- Ambler, J. *The Royal Marines Band Service 'Per Mare Per Terram': Volume 2: Bands and Drums of the Royal Marines Since 1664*. Portsmouth: Royal Marines Historical Society, 2011.
- Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Anon., 'He that Comforteth' *A plain sermon on the death of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence*. London: Skeffington & Son, 1892.
- Anon., 'Lovely Albert!' J. Ashton, *Modern Street Ballads*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1888.
- Anon., *Life of Queen Victoria by a Lady of the Court*, R. E. King, London, 1901.
- Anon., *Our Queen in Memoriam*. London: Horace Marshall, 1901.
- Anon., *Victoria the Great, The Story of the Queen's Life, A Reader for Schools*. London: T. Nelson, 1897.
- Anon., *Victoria RI, Queen and Empress. Official Programme and Illustrative Souvenir of the Unveiling of the Queen Victoria Memorial Statue*. Leeds: 1905.
- Arnold-Forster, M. *The Right Honourable Hugh Oakley Arnold-Foster: A Memoir by His Wife*. London: Edward Arnold, 1910.
- Arnold, C. *Necropolis: London and its Dead*. London: Pocket Books, 2007.
- Austin, A. 'Victoria,' *Daily Mail*, 24 January 1901.
- Austin, A. in A. L. Merrill, *Life and Times of Queen Victoria*. Chicago: Parish, 1901.
- Avant, D.D. *Political Institutions and Military Change: Lessons from Peripheral Wars*. Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Badsey, S. 'War Correspondents in the Boer War' Gooch, J. *The Boer War: Direction, Experience and Image*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Bagehot, W. 'Count Your Enemies and Economise Your Expenditure,' *The Works and Life of Walter Bagehot*. vol. 4 London: Longmans, 1915.
- Bagehot, W. 'The Thanksgiving,' *Economist*. 24 February, 1872.
- Bagehot, W. *The English Constitution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1867.
- Barnard, S. *To Prove I'm Not Forgot*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.

- Beattie, S. *The New Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Beaumont, J. 'The Times at War, 1899-1902,' in Lowry D. (ed.) *The South African War: A Reappraisal*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Belfield, E.M. *The Boer War*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1975.
- Bell, D. *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900*. Princeton University Press Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Bell, G.K.A. *Randall Davidson Archbishop of Canterbury*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935.
- Benson A. C. and Esher (eds.) *The Letters of Queen Victoria. 1837-1861*, 1st series, 3 vols., London: John Murray, 1908.
- Benson, E.F. *Queen Victoria's Daughters*. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1938.
- Berenson, E. 'Charisma and the Making of Imperial Heroes in Britain and France, 1880-1914,' Berenson E. & Giloi, E. *Constructing Charisma: Celebrity, Fame, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Bherghahn Books, 2010.
- Bhabha, H.K. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Blake, R. *Disraeli*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966.
- Bloom, C. *Restless Revolutionaries: A History of Britain's Fight for a Republic*. Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2010.
- Bocock, R. *Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1974.
- Bonham-Carter, V. *Winston Churchill as I Knew Him*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1995.
- Book of Ceremonials of the City of London*. London: The Corporation, 1882.
- Boorstin, D. J. *The Image 25th Anniversary*. New York: Vintage Books, 1982.
- Boyd, G.A. *Dublin, 1745-1922: Hospitals, Spectacle and Vice*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006.
- Boyer, M.C. *The City of Collective Memory. Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994.
- Braunfels, W. *Urban Design in Western Europe: Regime Architecture, 900-1900*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Bredesen, D. The 'Widdy's' Empire: Queen Victoria as Widow in Kipling's Soldiers Stories and in the Barrack-Room Ballads, M. Homans and A. Munich, (eds.), *Remaking Victoria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Brett, M. *Fashionable Mourning Jewelry, Clothing & Customs*. New York: Schiffer, 2006.
- Briggs, A. *Victorian Cities: Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Middlesbrough, Melbourne, London*. London: Penguin, 1990.
- Briggs, A. *Victorian Things*. London: Batsford, 1988.

- Brindle, S. *Sir Aston Webb and the Victoria Memorial*. London: English Heritage, 2000.
- Brooke, S.A. *A Memorial Sermon on the Funeral of the Queen*, London: Self published, 1901.
- Brooks, P. *The Melodramatic Imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Brouwer, R.C. *Moral Nationalism in Victorian Canada: The Case of Angas Machar*, *Journal of Canadian Studies*. 20:1, 1985.
- Brumhead D. and Wyke, T. *A Walk Round Manchester Statues*. Manchester: Walkround, 1990.
- Buckle, G.E. *Letters of Queen Victoria*, 3rd Series, Vol. III, London: Murray Hill, 1932.
- Buckner, P. *Canada and the British Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Burroughs, P. 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire,' in Porter, A. (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Burrow, E. J. *The Borough Guide to Carlisle*. Cheltenham: Carlisle Council Publications, 1910.
- Bush, J. *Women Against the Vote: Female Anti-suffragism in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Campbell-Balfour, B.E.C. *Arthur James Balfour: First Earl of Balfour 1848-1905*. London: National Book Association, 1939.
- Cannadine, D. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Cannadine, D. 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the Invention of Tradition, c. 1820-1977,' in Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Cannadine, D. 'The Last Hanoverian Sovereign? The Victorian Monarchy in Historical Perspective, 1688-1988,' in Rosenheim, J. (ed.) *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honor of Lawrence Stone*. New York, 1989.
- Cannadine, D. 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain,' in Whaley, J. (ed.) *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*. London: Europa, 1981.
- Catling, T. *My Life's Pilgrimage*. London: John Murray, 1911.
- Chapman C. & P. Raben, (eds.), *Debrett's Queen Victoria's Jubilees 1887 & 1897*. London: Debrett's Peerage, 1978.
- Cherry, G.E. *Town Planning in Britain Since 1900: The Rise and Fall of the Planning Ideal*. London: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996.
- Chesterton, G.K. *Varied Types*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1909.
- Churchill, W. *The River War: An Historical Account of the Reconquest of the Soudan*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899.
- Churchill, W.S. *The Boer War: London to Ladysmith Via Pretoria, Ian Hamilton's March*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1989.

- Clemens, S. *Queen Victoria's Jubilee*. New York: Privately Published, 1897.
- Clune, H.P. *The Face of London*. London: Norwood Editions, 1978.
- Cohen, W. 'Symbols of Power: Statues in Nineteenth Century Provincial France,' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 31, 1989.
- Coleman, D.C. *Courtalds: an Economic and Social History; Vol. 1: the Nineteenth Century Silk and Crepe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Colley, L. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, (2nd edit.) 2005.
- Colley, L. 'The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820,' *Past and Present*. 102, February 1984.
- Collini, S. *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850-1930*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Connolly, J. 'Socialism and Irish Nationalism,' *Paris: L'Irlande Libre*, 1897.
- Cook, G. *The Discourse of Advertising*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Cook, R. *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Copland, I. *Princes of India in the Endgame of Empire 1917-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Corelli, M. 'The Queen's Best Monument,' *Spectator*. 28 January 1901.
- Corelli, M. *The Decay of Home Life in England, Free Opinions*. London: Archibald Constable, 1905.
- Corelli, M. *The Greatest Queen in the World, 1837-1900: A Tribute to the Majesty of England*. London: Skeffington & Son, 1900.
- Corelli, M. *The Passing of The Great Queen: A Tribute to the Noble Life of Victoria Regina*. London: Methuen & Co., 1901.
- Corrington, R.S. *An Introduction to C. S. Peirce*. Boston: Rowman & Littlefield, 1993.
- Countess of Jersey, *Fifty One Years of Victorian Life*. London: John Murray, 1922.
- Coward, N. *Cavalcade*. London: W. Heinmann, 1932.
- Craig, M. *Dublin 1660-1860*. Dublin: Liberties Press, 2007.
- Craik, D. 'A Dedicatory Verse,' in Stead, W.T. *Our Mother-Queen, The Story of the Longest Reign*. London: Lucile Ltd., 1897.
- Crofton, I. *The Kings and Queens of England*. London: Quercus, 2006.
- Crook, P. *Darwin's Coat-Tails: Essays on Social Darwinism*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007.

- Cunningham, C. *Victorian and Edwardian Town Halls*. London: Routledge, 1981.
- Curl, J.S. *A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to Some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition*, London, Sterling Pub. Co., 1993.
- Daly, M.E. *Dublin the Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History 1860-1914*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1984.
- Danahay, M. *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005.
- Danahay, M. *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Danesi, M. *The Quest for Meaning: A Guide to Semiotic Theory and Practice*. Toronto: Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Daniels, S. *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Darby, E. *Statues of Queen Victoria & Prince Albert: A Study in Commemorative and Portrait Statuary 1837-1924*. PhD Thesis, University of London, 1983.
- Darke, J. *The Monument Guide to England and Wales. A National Portrait in Bronze and Stone*. London: Macdonald Illustrated, 1991.
- Darwin, J. *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Daunton, M.J. *Coal Metropolis: Cardiff 1870-1914*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977.
- Davenport, T.R.H. *South Africa: A Modern History*. (4th ed.), Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Davey M. H. & D. J. Mannion, *Fifty Years of Commemorative China, 1887-1937*. Hemel Hempstead: Dayman, 1988.
- Davey, R. *The Pageant of London*. 2 vols., London: Methuen, 1906.
- Davidoff, L. & Hall, C. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Davies, J. *Dianna a Cultural History: Gender, Race, Nation and the People's Princess*. Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001.
- Davin, A. 'Imperialism and Motherhood,' *History Workshop Journal* No. 5. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Davis, D. *A History of Shopping*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Davis, M. *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Nino Famines and the Making of the Third World*. New York: Verso, 2002.
- De Saussure F. & R. Harris, *Course in General Linguistics*. Chicago: Open Court, 1983.

- Denney, C. *Representing Diana, Princess of Wales: Cultural Memory and Fairy Tales Revisited*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005.
- Dilke, C. 'Sir Charles Dilke on the Civil List,' *Economist*, 10 January 1874.
- Dirks, N.B. *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Dixon, E.H. 'La Reyene Est Morte,' *The Times*, 23 January 1901.
- Doss, E. *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Dupre, J. *Monuments: America's History in Art and Memory*. New York: Random House, 2007.
- Durkheim, E. & Swain J.A. (trans.), *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1915.
- Duruz J. & Johnson C. 'Mourning at a Distance: Australians and the death of a British princess' in Steinberg, D.L. (ed.), *Mourning Diana: Nation, Culture and the Performance of Grief*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Edwards, A. 'Sermon at All Saints, South Lambeth,' *Times*, 21 January 1901.
- Egerton, H. *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*. London: Methuen & Co., 1950.
- Eisenstadt S. N., (ed.) *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Eldridge, P.X. *Our Mother-Queen: A Sermon preached... on the occasion of the death of... Queen Victoria*. London: Vacher & Sons, 1901.
- Eliot, G. in Haight, G.S. (ed.) *Selections from George Eliot's Letters*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Esher, R. in Brett, M. (ed.) *Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher*. London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1923.
- Farwell, B. *Eminent Victorian Soldiers: Seekers of Glory*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1985.
- Farwell, B. *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*. London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1973.
- Faulk, B.J. *Music Hall & Modernity: Late Victorian Discovery of Popular Culture*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004.
- Fawcett, M. *What I Remember*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1925.
- Federico, A. *The Idol of Suburbia: Marie Corelli and Late-Victorian Literary Culture*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.
- Fillingham, R.C. 'Our Bereavement,' in Hammerton, J.G. (ed.) *The Passing of Victoria: The Poets Tribute*. London: Horace Marshall & Son, 1901.
- Finden W. & Finden E. *Portraits of the Female Aristocracy of the Court of Queen Victoria*. London: Hogarth, 1839.

- Finkelpearl, T. *Dialogues in Public Art*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001.
- Fogelin, L. 'The Archaeology of Religious Ritual' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2007.
- Fournier, R. *Lieux et monuments historiques de l'île de Montreal*. Montreal: Les Editions du Richelieu, 1974.
- Fraser, P. *Lord Esher: A Political Biography*. London: Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1973.
- Freeden, M. 'Liberal Passions: Reason and Emotion in Late and Post-Victorian Liberal Thought', Ghosh P. & Goldman L. (eds.) *Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain Essays in Memory of Colin Matthew*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Friedman, S. *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Fritz, P. 'The Trade in Death: Royal Funerals in England, 1685-1830.' *Eighteenth Century Studies*. Vol.15, No.3, Spring, 1982.
- Froude, J.A. *Oceana, or England and her Colonies*. London: Longman's, 1886.
- Fry, M. *Edinburgh: A History of the City*. London: Pan, 2010.
- Fuery, P. & Mansfield N. *Cultural Studies and Critical Theory*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Fulford, R., (ed.) *Beloved Mama: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the German Crown Princess, 1878-1885*. London: Evans, 1981.
- Fulford, R., (ed.) *Darling Child: Private Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1871-1878*. London: Sutton Publishing, 1976.
- Fulford, R., (ed.) *Dearest Child: Correspondence of Queen Victoria and the Crown Princess of Prussia, 1858-1861*. London: Macmillan, 1964.
- Galsworthy, J. *The Forsyte Saga*. Book II, New York: Scribners, 1930.
- Geddes, P. *Cities in Evolution; An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics*. London: Williams Publication, 1915.
- Geertz, C. *Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power, Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.
- George V. *The King to his People (Speeches and Messages)*, London: Edward Arnold, 1911.
- Ghosh, P. 'Gladstone and Peel', Ghosh P. & Goldman L. (eds.) *Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain Essays in Memory of Colin Matthew*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Ghosh, P. & L. Goldman L. 'A Brief Word on Politics and Culture', Ghosh P. & Goldman L. (eds.) *Politics and Culture in Victorian Britain Essays in Memory of Colin Matthew*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Gillis, J. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1994.

- Gillis, J.R. *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual and the Quest for Family Values*. New York: Basic Books, 1996.
- Gillman, D. *The Idea of Cultural Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Gilmour, D. *Curzon: Imperial Statesman*. London: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2003.
- Gissing, A. & Gissing, E., (eds.) *Letters of George Gissing to Members of His Family*. London: Constable, 1931.
- Gissing, G. *In the Year of Jubilee*. White Fish: Kessinger, 2004.
- Goldstein, J.A. *A Sermon on the Occasion of a Memorial Service Held in Memory of her Late Most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria*, London: Self published, 1901.
- Gray, R.Q. *The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Greene, J.P. *Exclusionary Empire: English Liberty Overseas, 1600-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Greenwall, R. *Artists and Illustrators of the Anglo-Boer War*. London: Fernwood Press, 1992.
- Greer, A. *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Gunn, S. & Bell R. *Middle Classes: Their Rise and Sprawl*. Dublin: Phoenix, 2003.
- Gwynn, S. (ed.) *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*. London: Constable, 1929.
- Halbwachs, M. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Hall, C. 'From Greenland's Icy Mountains ... to Africa's Golden Sand: Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth Century England.' *Gender and History*. 5:2, Summer 1993.
- Halligey, J.T.F. *Sermon preached in Brunswick Chapel, Newcastle-on-Tyne on Sunday morning January 27th, 1901*. Newcastle-on-Tyne: Wesleyan Book Depot, 1901.
- Hamilton, C. *Life Errant*. London: Dent, 1935.
- Hammond, J. *A Queen Indeed!* London: Skeffington, 1901.
- Hannah, W.H. *Bobs: Kipling's General: Life of Field-marshal Earl Roberts of Kanadhar VC*. London: Leo Cooper, 1972.
- Hardie, F. *The Political Influence of Queen Victoria, 1861-1901*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935.
- Hardie, K. 'The Diamond Jubilee-Monarchy or Republic?' in Chapman C. & Raben, P. (eds.) *Debrett's Queen Victoria's Jubilees*. London: Debrett's Peerage Ltd., 1977.
- Harmsworth, A. C. 'The Diamond Jubilee Celebrations', in Maxwell, H. *Sixty Years A Queen*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1897.
- Harrison, J. *A Funeral sermon on the death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria*. London: Skeffington & Son, 1901.

Harvey, D. *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

Hayden, I. *Symbol and Privilege: Ritual Context of British Royalty*. Tucson: University Arizona Press, 1988.

Heathorn, S. 'Let Us Remember That We, Too, Are British: Constructions of Citizenship and National Identity in English Reading Books, 1880-1914,' *Victorian Studies*. 38:3, Spring 1995.

Hedger, M. *Public Sculpture in Australia*. Roseville: Craftsman House, 1998.

Henley, W.H. *In Memoriam Reginae Dilectissimae Victoriae, Poems*. London: MacMillan, 1921.

Hensley Henson, H. *A Sermon, preached at Westminster Abbey 27 January 1901*. London: MacMillan, 1901.

Henty, G.A. *Queen Victoria, Scenes from Her Life and Reign*. London: Blackie & Sons, 1901.

Hibbert, C. *A Guide to Royal London*. London: Pan Macmillan, 1987.

Hibbert, C. *Edward VII: The Last Victorian King*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, (2nd ed.), 2007.

Hibbert, C. *George IV: The Rebel Who Would Be King*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Hibbert, C. *Queen Victoria: A Personal History*. London: Harper Collins, 2000.

Hicks Beach, V. *Life of Sir Michael Hicks Beach Volume II*. London: MacMillan, 1932.

Higginson, G. *Seventy-One years of a Guardsman's Life*. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1916.

Hindley D. & G. *Advertising in Victorian England: 1850-1914*. London: Wayland, 1972.

Hinz, B. *Art in the Third Reich*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1979.

Hobsbawm E. and T. Ranger, (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Hobsbawm, E. Foreword to Ades, D. (et al.), *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930-45*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1995.

Hobson, J.A. *Imperialism*. Chicago: University of Michigan Press; 1965.

Holmes, R.R. *Queen Victoria 1819-1901*. London: Longmans, 1901.

Homans, M. & Munich, A. (eds.) *Remaking Queen Victoria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Homans, M. *Royal Representations, Queen Victoria & British Culture, 1837-1876*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Horsely, R. *Victoria The Good Queen*. London: W. and R. Chambers, 1901.

Houghton, W.E. *Victorian Frame of Mind 1830-70*. Yale: Yale University Press, 1963.

- Hunnisack, J.M. *The Sculptor Jules Dalour: Studies in his Style and Imagery*. London: Pan Macmillan, 1977.
- Hussey C. *Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*. London: ACC Distribution, 1985.
- Hyamson, M. *In Memoriam Queen Victoria 1837-1901 A sermon*. London: Willis & Co., 1901.
- Hynes, S. *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Inglis, F. *A Short History of Celebrity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.
- Ingraham, C. *White Weddings: Romancing Heterosexuality in Popular Culture*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 1999.
- Ingram Brookes, J. *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1800-1875*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1941.
- Jackson Lears, T. J. *Fables of Abundance*. New York: Basic Books, 1995.
- Jackson, T. *The Boer War*. London: Channel Four Books, 1999.
- Jalland, P. *Death and the Victorian Family*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- James, C. *Fame in the Twentieth Century*. London: BBC Books, 1993.
- James, L. *Aristocrats: Power, Grace and Decadence - Britain's Great Ruling Classes from 1066 to the Present*. London: Abacus, 2010.
- James, L. *The Rise and fall of the British Empire*. London: St Martin's Press, 2005.
- Jameson, F. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Jeater, D. *Law, Language, and Science: The Invention of the Native Mind in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1930*. Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2006.
- Jenkins, R. *Gladstone*. London: Pan, 2002.
- Jerrold, W. *Lord Roberts Of Kandahar, V.C.* Whitefish: Kessinger, 2007.
- Johnston, L. *Nineteenth Century Fashion in Detail*. London: V & A Publishing, 2009.
- Joyce, P. (ed.) *Class*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Judd, D. *Radical Joe: Life of Joseph Chamberlain*. London: H. Hamilton, 1977.
- Judd, D. *The Lion and the Tiger: The Rise and Fall of the British Raj, 1600-1947*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Kantorowicz, E.H. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Kaul, C. *Media and the British Empire*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Kenney, A. *Memories of a Militant*. London: Edward Arnold, 1924.

- Kerrigan, M. *The History of Death: Burial Customs and Funeral Rites, from the Ancient World to Modern Times*. London: Lyons Press, 2007.
- Kidd, A. & Nicholls D. (eds.) *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism - Middle-Class Identity in Britain 1800-1940*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Kidd, C. 'Race, Empire, and the Limits of Nineteenth-Century Scottish Nationhood,' *The Historical Journal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Vol. 43, 2003.
- King, A. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain*. Oxford: Berg, 1998.
- Kipling, R. 'Bobs,' in *Rudyard Kipling's Barrack-Room Ballads*. London: Macmillan, 1896.
- Kipling, R. 'Recessional,' in *Rudyard Kipling's Verse*. London: Macmillan, 1897.
- Knowles, E. (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Krout, M. *A Looker-On in London*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1899.
- Kuhn W.M. 'Centennial of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee,' *Victorian Poetry*, Vol. 25, No. 3/4. Morgantown: West Virginia Press, 1987.
- Kuhn, W.M. *Democratic Royalism: The Transformation of the British Monarchy, 1861-1914*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996.
- La Terriere, B. *Days That Are Gone*. London: Hutchison & Co., 1924.
- Lant, J.L. *Insubstantial Pageant: Ceremony & Confusion at Queen Victoria's Court*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979.
- Larwood J. & J. C. Hotten, *The History of Signboards from the Earliest Time to the Present Day*. (11th ed.), London: Chatto and Windus, 1900.
- Law, L.A. *Victoria the Great and Good: An Essay on the Diamond Jubilee*. London: Elliot Stock, 1897.
- Lawrence, W.R. *The India We Served*. London: Cassell & Company, 1928.
- Lee, S. *King Edward VII: A Biography. Vol. I*, London: St Martin's Street Press, 1925.
- Lees-Milne, J. *The Enigmatic Edwardian*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1988.
- Lefebvre, H. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- Leith, J.A. *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France 1789-1799*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1990.
- Lenin, V.I. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage Of Capitalism, A Popular Outline*. Moscow: Progress Publishers, (Reprint of 1916 edit.), 1963.
- Levine, P. *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset*. London: Longman, 2007.
- Levinson, S. *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998.

- Lockhart, J.G. *Cosmo Gordon Lang*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1949.
- Loeb, L. *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Loftus, D. *The Self Made Man: Businessmen and their Autobiographies in Nineteenth Century Britain*. London: Business Archives, 80, 2000.
- Longford, E. *Victoria R.I*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.
- Lorimer, D. A. *Colour, Class, and the Victorians: English Attitudes to the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1978.
- Lowenthal, D. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- MacCannell, D. *The Tourist: A New Theory of Leisure and Class*. New York: Schocken Books, 1916.
- Mace, R. *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire*. London: Lawrence And Wishart Ltd; (2nd edit.), 2005.
- Mackail J.W. & Hynes, S. *Edwardian Occasions*. London: Routledge & Kegan, 1972.
- Mackennal, A. *A Completed Life: Sermon preached... after the death of Queen Victoria*. London: James Clarke & Co., 1901.
- MacKenzie, J. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation Of British Public Opinion*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.
- Mackenzie, J.M. (ed.) *The Victorian Vision*. London: V&A Publications, 2001.
- MacLaren, A. *Dublin: The Shaping of a Capital*. London: Belhaven Press, 1993.
- Maclean, A.M. *Queen Victoria and her time: Three Sermons*. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1901.
- Marsh, P. *Joseph Chamberlain: Entrepreneur in Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Marshall, H.E. *Our Empire Story: Stories of India and the Greater Colonies Told to Children*. London: Stokes Co., 1908.
- Marshall, P.D. *The Celebrity Culture Reader*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Martin, T. *Queen Victoria As I Knew Her*. London: John Murray, 1908.
- Marwick, W.H. 'Municipal Politics in Victorian Edinburgh,' *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*. Edinburgh: Vol.33, Part I, 1969.
- Masalha, N. *The Bible and Zionism: Invented Traditions, Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in Palestine-Israel*. London: Zed Books, 2007.
- Massey, D. 'Places and their Past,' *History Workshop Journal*. Oxford: 39 Spring, 1995.
- Masterman, C.F.G. (ed.) *The Heart of the Empire*. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1901.
- Masters, B. *Now Barabbas Was a Rotter: The Extraordinary Life of Marie Corelli*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978.

- May, J. & J. *Commemorative Pottery 1780-1900*. New York: Charles Scribner, 1973.
- May, T. *The Victorian Undertaker*. Colchester: Shire Histories, 2008.
- McClintock, A. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- McGee, O. *The IRB: The Irish Republican Brotherhood from The Land League to Sinn Fein*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005.
- McKay, J. *Commemorative Pottery and Porcelain*. London: Garnstone Press, 1971.
- McKibbin, R. 'Why was there no Marxism in Great Britain?' *English Historical Review*. Vol. XCIX (CCCXCI), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- McLeod N. 'Social Life in Heaven - The Recognition of Friends in Heaven,' London: 1866. Quoted in Darby E. & Smith, N. *Cult of the Prince Consort*. Newhaven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Melechi, A. *Servants of the Supernatural: The Night Side of the Victorian Mind*. London: Random House, 2009.
- Menchik, D. & Tian, X. 'Putting Social Context into Text: The Semiotics of Email Interaction,' *The American Journal of Sociology*, 114: 2, 2008.
- Mitchell, B.R. *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.
- Monkhouse, C. 'To Our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria,' *Illustrated London News*, 26 June 1897.
- Moore, E. C. (Ed.) *Charles S. Peirce: The Essential Writings*. New York: Prometheus Books, 1998.
- Morris, J. *Pax Britannica: The Climax of an Empire*. London: Faber & Faber, 1988.
- Mulock Craik, D. M. *Fifty Golden Years*. London: Raphael Tuck And Sons, 1887.
- Munich A. 'Queen Victoria, Empire, and Excess,' *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Woman and Nation, Autumn, 1987.
- Munich, A. *Queen Victoria's Secrets*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Nairn, I. *Nairn's London*. London: Trafalgar Square Publishing, 2002.
- Nash S. & Taylor A. (eds.) *Republicanism in Victorian Society*. London: Sutton, 2000.
- Nead, L. *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth-Century London*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Nelson, R.S. & Olin, M. *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Nevett, T. *Advertising in Britain: A History*. London: Heinemann, 1982.

- Nora, P. 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,' *Representations*. 26, Spring 1989.
- Nora, P. *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de memoire*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Nugent, M. "‘Tell the Queen we very good blackfellows’: Interpreting Aboriginal people's appeals to Queen Victoria during her reign," Seminar, School of History, Research School of Social Sciences, ANU, 10 November 2010.
- O'Brien, C.C. *Ancestral Voices: Religion and Nationalism in Ireland*. Dublin: Poolbeg Press Ltd., 1994.
- O'Brien, M. *The Irish Times: A History*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008.
- Opie, R. *Rule Britannia*. Harmondsworth: Viking, 2005.
- Owen, A. *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Nineteenth Century Britain*. London: Virago, 1989.
- Packard, J.M. *Farewell in Splendour: The Passing of Queen Victoria and Her Age*. New York: Dutton, 2000.
- Packard, J.M. *Victoria's Daughters*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1998.
- Parker, S. 'Queen of the Lending Libraries: Marie Corelli (1855-1924),' *Dodo*, 7, 1991.
- Paterson, M. *A Brief History of Life in Victorian Britain*. London: Constable & Robinson, 2008.
- Patterson, S. *The Cult of Imperial Honor in British India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Phillips, M. *The Ascent of Woman: A History of the Suffragette Movement*. Essex: Abacus, 2004.
- Picard, L. *Victorian London: The Life of a City 1840-1870*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005.
- Pick, D. *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder c.1848-1918*. Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Pickering, P.A. 'Confronting the Good Monarch: Searching for a Democratic Case for the Republic,' in Jones, B.T. & McKenna, M. *Australian Republicanism*, Melbourne: Black In, forthcoming 2013.
- Pickering, P.A. 'The Chartist Rites of Passage: Commemorating Fergus O'Connor,' Pickering P. & Tyrrell A., *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*. Aldershot, Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- Pickering, P.A. 'The Hearts of the Millions': Chartism and Popular Monarchism in the 1840s', *History*, Volume 88, Issue 290, April 2003.
- Pickering, P.A. & Tyrrell, A. *Contested Sites: Commemoration, Memorial and Popular Politics in Nineteenth Century Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004.
- Pickering, P.A. & Westcott, R. 'Monuments and Commemorations: A Consideration,' *Humanities Research*, Vol 10 No. 2, 2003.

- Pickering, P.A. *Chartism and the Chartists in Manchester and Salford*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.
- Plowden, A. *Caroline and Charlotte: Regency Scandals 1795-1821*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2005.
- Plunkett, J. *Queen Victoria - First Media Monarch*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Ponsonby, A. *Henry Ponsonby: Queen Victoria's Private Secretary*. London: Macmillan, 1942.
- Ponsonby, F. *Recollections of Three Reigns*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1951.
- Poon, A. *Enacting Englishness in the Victorian Period: Colonialism and the Politics of Performance*. London: Ashgate, 2008.
- Port, M.H. *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London 1850-1915*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Porter, B. *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism 1850-1913*. London: Longman, 1996.
- Potter, B. *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Pound R. & Harmsworth G. *Northcliffe*. London: Cassell, 1959.
- Prendergast, C. 'Circulating Representations: New Historicism and the Poetics of Culture,' *Substance: The Review of Theory and Literary Criticism*, No. 28, issue 1, 1999.
- Prochaska, F.K. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Pugh, M. D. 'Politicians and the Woman's Vote 1914-1918,' *History*, Vol. 59, Issue 197 Oct, 1974.
- Ransom, T. *The Mysterious Marie Corelli: Queen of Victorian Bestsellers*. Gloucestershire: Thrupp, 1999.
- Rappaport, H. *Magnificent Obsession: Victoria, Albert and the Death That Changed the Monarchy*. London: Hutchinson, 2011.
- Rappaport, H. *Queen Victoria: A Biographical Companion*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2003.
- Read, B. *Victorian Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Redesdale, Lord, *Memories*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1915.
- Reid, F. Keir Hardie: *The Making of a Socialist*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.
- Reps, J.W. *Monumental Washington: The Planning and Development of the Capital Center*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Richards, T. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

- Richardson, A. & Willis, C. *The New Woman in Fiction and Fact: Fin-de-Siècle Feminisms*. London: Palgrave, 2001.
- Robbins, K. 'An imperial and Multinational Polity, 1832-1922,' in Grant A. and Stringer K.J. (eds), *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Roberts, J.F. 'The Unveiling of the Manchester Statue of Victoria,' *Manchester Guardian*, 11 October 1901.
- Roberts, R. *The Classic Slum*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971.
- Rogers, D. *Coronation Souvenirs and Commemoratives*. London: Latimer New Dimensions, 1975.
- Ross, C. 'Porphyria's Lover,' *The Explicator*, Winter 2002.
- Ross, E. *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Rosbottom, D.C. 'The Melodrama of Meaning,' *Diacritics*, Volume 8, No. 3, 1978.
- Rothblatt, S. 'Nineteenth Century London,' in Brucker G. (ed.) *People and Communities in the Western World*. Volume II. Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1979.
- Sachdev, V. & Tillotson G. *Building Jaipur: The Making of an Indian City*. London: Reaktion Books, 2002.
- Sack, R. *Homo Geographicus: A Framework for Action, Awareness, and Moral Concern*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1997.
- Salaman, M.C. 'Sir Thomas Brock's Queen Victoria Memorial,' *Studio*, Vol. 53 1911.
- Salmon, E. 'The Colonial Empire of 1837,' *Fortnightly Review*, 61 1897.
- Salmon, E. 'The Crown and the Colonies,' *National Review*, 14 1890.
- Savage, K. *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Savage, K. 'The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument,' in Gillis, J.R. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identities*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Schama, S. *Landscape and Memory*. New York: Knopff, 1995.
- Schneer, J. *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Schofield N. & Skinner G. *The English Cardinals*. London: Family Publications, 2007.
- Schor, E. *Bearing the Dead: The British Culture of Mourning from the Enlightenment to Victoria*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Seeley, J.R. *The Expansion of England: Two Course of Lectures*. London: Macmillan, 1883.
- Sessional Papers*, London: House of Commons, Vol. LIX, 1897.

- Shephard, B. 'Showbiz Imperialism: The Case of Peter Lovengula,' Mackenzie, J. (ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- Sievers, M. *The Highland Myth as an Invented Tradition of the 18th and 19th Century and its Significance for the Image of Scotland*. Munich: GRIN Verlag, 2007.
- Sinnema, P.W. *Dynamics of the Pictured Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News*. Ashgate: Aldershot and Brookfield, 1998.
- Smith-Robertson, P. *Revolutions of 1848: A Social History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- Smith, P. (ed.) *W. Bagehot: The English Constitution 1867*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Smith, T. *Successful Advertising: Its Secrets Explained*. London: Smith's Advertising Agency, 1886.
- Southwark, S. *Social and Political Reminiscences*. London: Williams & Northgate, 1913.
- Spinks & Sons Medallists, *Catalogue of Sexagenary Medals*, London: Spinks & Sons, 1897.
- St Aubyn, G. *Queen Victoria: A Portrait*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1991.
- Stamp, R.M. *Royal Rebels: Princess Louise and the Marquis of Lorne*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988.
- Steggles, M.A & Barnes, R. *British Sculpture in India: New Views and Old Memories*. Norfolk: Frontier Publishing, 2011.
- Steggles, M.A. *Statues of the Raj*. British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia, 2000.
- Stern, J.F. *The Queen: A Sermon, Delivered 2 February 1901 East London Synagogue*. London: Privately published, 1901.
- Stewart, S. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Strachey, G.L. *Queen Victoria*. London: Sutton, 1921.
- Strange, J. *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Strange, J.M. 'She cried a very little: death, grief and mourning in working-class culture, c. 1880-1914.' *Social History*, Volume 27, May 2002.
- Strange, J.M. *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Sturges, T.R.H. *Queen Victoria the Good*. London: E. Marlborough & Co., 1901.
- Summerfield, P. 'Patriotism and Empire: Music Hall Entertainment, 1870-1914,' in J. M. MacKenzie, (ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.

- Sussman, H. *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Taylor, A. *Down with the Crown: British Anti-monarchism and Debates About Royalty Since 1790*. London: Reaktion Books, 1999.
- Taylor, H. *Queen Victoria's Statue*, Southport: published by the author, c. 1904.
- Taylor, J.A. *Diana, Self-Interest, and British National Identity*. Westport: Praeger, 2000.
- Teich, M. & Porter, R. (eds.) *Fin de Siecle and Its Legacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Terdiman, R. *'Historicizing Memory,' Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Thane, P. 'Late Victorian Englishwomen,' in Gourvish T.R. & O' Day, A. (eds.) *Late Victorian Britain 1867-1900*. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Thomas, A. *Rhodes: Race for Africa*. London: Thomas Dunne Books, 1997.
- Thompson, D. *Queen Victoria: A Woman on the Throne*. London: Virago, 1990.
- Thompson, D. *Queen Victoria: Gender and Power*. London: Virago, 2001.
- Thurer, S. *Myths of Motherhood: How Culture Reinvents the Good Mother*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994.
- Tickner, L. *The Spectacle of Women*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1987.
- Tilney Basset, A., (ed.) *A Victorian Vintage*. London: Methuen, 1930.
- Tomoko, M. *The Invention of World Religions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Tosh, J. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Trew-Hay, J. 'Vale Reginal' *Sportsman*, 23 January 1901.
- Tyrrell, A. 'The Queen's 'Little Trip', The Visit to Scotland in 1842', *The Scottish Historical Review*. Volume LXXXII, 1: No. 213, 2003.
- Tyrrell, A. & Ward, Y. 'God Bless Her Little Majesty.' *The Popularising of Monarchy in the 1840s*, *National Identities*. Vol. 2 No. 2, Bundoora: La Trobe University, 2000.
- Valentine, L. *The Life of Victoria Our Queen and Empress: Simply Told For Children*. London: Fred Warne and Company, 1887.
- Van Der Kiste, J. *Queen Victoria's Children*. Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2010.
- Van Der Kiste, J. *Sons, Servants and Statesmen: The Men in Queen Victoria's Life*. Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2006.
- Van der Veer, P. *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

- Verdery, K. *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Vlastos, S. (ed.) *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Waite, R. *Kaiser and Fuhrer: A Comparative Study of Personality and Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Wake, J. *Princess Louise: Queen Victoria's Unconventional Daughter*. London: Collins, 1988.
- Walkowitz, J.R. *City of Dreadful Delight*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Wallace, D.M. *The Web of Empire: A Diary of the Imperial Tour of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in 1901*. London: Fred Warne and Company, 1902.
- Waller, P.J. *Town, City, and Nation: England, 1850-1914*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Wallis, D. 'Statue of Limitations', *Obit Magazine*, June 2009.
- Walsh, M. *Westminster Cardinals*. London: Burns & Oates, 2009.
- Walton, J. K. *Lancashire: A Social History 1558-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Walton, J.K. *English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983.
- Warner, M. *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Warwick, P. *The South African War: the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902*. Harlow: Longman, 1980.
- Watson, N.J. 'Gloriana Victoriana: Victoria and the Cultural memory of Elizabeth I', Homans, M. & Munich, A. (eds.) *Remaking Queen Victoria*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997.
- Watson, V. *A Queen At Home*. London: W.H. Allen, 1952.
- Webb, B. *The Diary Of Beatrice Webb 1873-1943*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey, 1978.
- Weber, M. *Essays in Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958.
- Weight, K. *Patriots: National Identity in Britain 1940-2000*. London: Pan, 2003.
- Wessels, A. (ed.) *Lord Roberts and the War in South Africa 1899-1902*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000.
- West, S. *Fin de Siecle: Art and Society in an Age of Uncertainty*. New York: Overlook Press, 1994.
- Wheeler, M. *Heaven, Hell, and the Victorians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- White, J. *London In The Nineteenth Century: 'A Human Awful Wonder of God.'* London: Vintage, 2008.

- Whitfield, P. *London: A Life in Maps*. London: British Library Publishing, 2006.
- Whiting, J. R. S. *Commemorative Medals: A Medallic History of Britain from Tudor Times to the Present Day*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972.
- Whytehead, H.R. *The Beloved Queen*. London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1901.
- Wilce, J.M. 'Magical Laments and Anthropological Reflections: The Production and Circulation of Anthropological Text as Ritual Activity' *Current Anthropology*, 2006.
- Williams, R. *The Contentious Crown: Public Discussion of the British Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997.
- Wilson, A.N. *The Victorians*. London: Hutchinson, 2007.
- Winnington Ingram, A. F. *Afterglow of a Great Reign: Four Addresses Delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral*. London: Wells Gardner, 1902.
- Wintle, W. J. *The Story of Victoria RI - Mother, Wife, Queen*. London: The Sunday School Union, 1897.
- Worthington W. *The Book of the Boudoir; or, The Court of Queen Victoria*. London: Tilt, 1846.
- Wright, R. *Stolen Continents: The New World, Through Indian Eyes Since 1492*. Toronto: Viking, 1991.
- Wright, T. & Gamble, A. *Britishness: Perspectives on the British Question*. West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons, 2009.
- Yarrington, A. *The Commemoration of the Hero 1800-1864: Monuments to the British Victors of the Napoleonic Wars*. New York: Garland, 1988.
- Yates, F.A. *The Art of Memory*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Young, F. *Exit Party: An Essay on the Rise and Fall of 'Party' as the Ruling Factor of the Governments of Great Britain*. London: George Allen, 1900.
- Zimmerman, C.C. 'The Nineteenth Century and the Rise of the Atomistic Family,' *The Intercollegiate Review*. February 2008.

Digital References

- 'Mourning and Funeral Usages', April 17, 1886 [electronic edition]. *Harper's Bazaar*, Nineteenth Century Fashion Magazine, <http://harpersbazaar.victorian-ebooks.com>, 2005.
- 'The House of Mourning: Victorian Mourning and Funeral Customs in the 1890s', <http://www.victoriana.com/VictorianPeriod/mourning.htm>, 2006.
- 'Victorian Mourning Customs', *Collier's Cyclopaedia*, 1901, <http://www.quilthistory.com/VMC.htm>, 2002.

British Colonial Architecture III - A Search for an Imperial Style, <http://www.boloji.com/architecture/00039.htm>, 2004.

Lambert, T. 'A Short History of Cardiff,' *Histories of Welsh Towns*, <http://www.localhistories.org/Cardiff.html>.

Thomas, P.W. *Mourning Fashion History*, http://www.fashion-era.com/mourning_fashion.htm, 2008.

The Empress Frederick, A Memoir, London: James Nisbet & Co., 1913, http://www.kronberger-maler.de/victoria/memoir_5.html

The Victoria Memorial Hall Calcutta, <http://www.victoriamemorial-cal.org/architecture.html>

The Powerhouse Museum, Diamond Jubilee collection, Sydney, <http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database/subject=Queen+Victoria+Diamond+Jubilee+Celebrations>

Parliament of Tasmania, Hobart, <http://www.parliament.tas.gov.au/php/VicPic.htm>